THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

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THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

THE LANDING AT JAMESTOWN, 1607.

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THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

BY

HELEN AINSLIE SMITH

AUTHOR OF "ONE HUNDRED FAMOUS AMERICANS," "STORIES OF PERSONS AND PLACES IN AMERICA," "THE COLONIES" "ANIMALS: WILD AND TAME," ETC.

IN TWO PARTS

PART I

VIRGINIA MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW YORK

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK & LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1901

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TO

EMILY ELLIOT DALAND

AND A SMALL GROUP OF STEADFAST FRIENDS

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

WITH GRATEFUL AFFECTION

BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

THIS work has been prepared with the purpose of telling *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies* in a manner to meet the requirements rather of the general reader than of the special student. It is believed, however, that the narrative, while readable, as so dramatic a story ought certainly to be, can safely be accepted as trustworthy history. So far as I can learn, after an examination of a long series of admirable works in this department of American history, this is the first single work in which is presented separately the record of each of the thirteen colonies from its first settlement to the Declaration of Independence. The attempt has been made not only to depict each plantation upon its own geographical background, but as a distinct entity, to show the decisive events of its object and growth. I have also endeavoured to present the characteristics of its people, and, so far as space allows, to give glimpses of the humour, and even of the frailties of their daily lives, together with a study of their statecraft, their business enterprise, and, above all, of their religion, which was so large

a factor in the founding and in the maintenance of nearly all of the colonies.

In the preparation of a history on this plan, a number of years have been devoted to a study of the older records and of the works of modern historians, and yet other years to sifting out prejudice and to shaping the results into a simple, straightforward narrative, a narrative which I venture to hope possesses, with some form and colour, the breath of life. Thanks are due for much important assistance to many historical societies and public and private libraries, and to a long list of personal friends.

H. A. S.

North Haven, Maine,
August, 1900.

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THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

CHAPTER I

THE FORERUNNERS

THE tale of the Thirteen English Colonies of North America — from which the United States have grown — hangs by England's claim to the northern continent in virtue of the discoveries of John Cabot under the flag of Henry VII., and of the pretensions of Cabot's self-glorifying son, Sebastian.

Nowadays it is beyond dispute that the discovery, exploration, and settlement of this most important portion of the New World's coast was the joint work of nearly the whole of seafaring Europe, since, perhaps before, the ventures of the Norse vikings of the ninth century. But if America was visited before the last decade of the fifteenth century, the barbarism of mediæval times hindered the world from seeing anything of importance in the mariners' tales; and their voyages failed to form any link be-

tween the Old World and the New. Columbus was a discoverer when he found San Salvador in the autumn of 1492. The story of his wonderful voyage was given to Europe, not by ever-varying word of mouth, as in the past, but by the unchanging types of the printing-press—a discovery but half a century older than his own.

On the announcement of the success of Columbus, Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull (May, 1493) dividing the heathen world—or, as some say, that part of it which lay below the forty-fourth parallel of north latitude — between Spain and Portugal, to be by them conquered, converted to the Christian (Roman Catholic) religion, and settled with colonies of their own races. Spain craftily agreed with Portugal to keep out of Africa and the East Indies, if Portugal would keep out of what were called the Indies of the West. Everyone then thought that the islands found by Columbus lay off the coast of India. North of the forty-fourth parallel, perhaps, England and France might vie with each other, if they chose to carry their ancient rivalry into the New World; but even in that event Spain had well-grounded hopes of keeping them out by the help of her corsairs.

Portugal was then the great colonising power of Europe. The Dutch were under the yoke of Spain; and the once formidable maritime states of Italy were represented only by the skilled seamen who were ready, like Columbus, to go out under any patron.

As soon as the result of the voyage of Columbus

THE AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

From a Painting in possession of William Harrison Bradley of Chicago, United States Consul at Nice.

was known in England, Henry VII. received a petition from "John Cabotto, citizen of Venes, Lewes, Sebastyan and Sancto his sonneys," and granted them a patent "for the discouerie of new and unknowen lands."

In Bristol, where Cabot had lived for several years, he was known in plain English as Master John Cabot. He had long believed that the world was round, and that a westward voyage across the Atlantic would make the shore of Asia. The Spanish ambassador's secretary, Pedro de Ayala, wrote:

"For the last seven years, Bristol people have sent out every year, two, three, or four caravels in search of the island of Brazil and the Seven Cities according to the fancy of this Genoese."

On the news of Columbus's voyage, the Bristol people were persuaded once more, to their everlasting glory. Cabot took out one of their vessels again, and returned to tell of the discovery of a new land, probably, says Mr. Harrisse,* some point of the north-east coast of Labrador. It was said at the time that the new land was called Labrador "because it was disclosed and indicated by a labourer from the Azores islands." At any rate, Cabot returned with news of land in the north-west; and great honour was paid him.

In Henry VII.'s privy purse account is this brief entry:

"August 10, 1497, 10 l. to hym that found the new isle."

* *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima.*

Another record shows that the King granted Cabot twenty pounds a year, to be paid from the customs of Bristol; and when the people were remiss in their payments his Majesty called them to time.

Mr. Harrisse says there is nothing to prove that any of Cabot's sons crossed the Atlantic with their father. The belief that Sebastian went

> "rests exclusively upon statements from his own lips, made at a time, under circumstances, in a form, and with details which render them very suspicious. Nay, they have been positively denied at least twice in his lifetime in England as well as in Spain."

Two letters and a few scattered sentences are all that remain to show us John Cabot's rightful place of honour, almost obscured by his son Sebastian, whose fortune, raising him to high places both in Spain and England, set him before the eyes of men as the great discoverer. During nearly fifty years he controlled the larger part of what was published in Europe about the New World, and was not backward in celebrating his own glory in the statements which he made to the writers of his day. He is also accused of having altered to suit his pretensions the maps and documents submitted to him — and they were many, for he was Pilot-Major in Spain thirty years, and held authority of the same sort in England for several years longer.

Of the two letters alluded to as vindicating John Cabot's claim to be the originator of these discoveries, one was written on August 24, 1497, by

SEBASTIAN CABOT.
Redrawn from the portrait in Seyers's *Memoirs of Bristol.*

Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a Venetian in London, to his brothers at home.

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned and says that seven hundred leagues hence he discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham. He coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought here to the King certain snares which had been set to catch game and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. He says that the tides are slack and do not flow as they do here. The King of England is much pleased with this intelligence.

"The King has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet. The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons; his name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the great admiral. Vast honour is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides.

"The discoverer of these places planted on his newfound land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of St. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian; so that our banner has floated very far afield."

The next day after the date of this letter, Raimondo di Soncino wrote from London to his sovereign, Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan:

"Some months ago, his Majesty [Henry VII.] sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner, and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands."

About four months later, when the Milanese envoy had talked with the discoverer, he sent the Duke what is apparently as full an account of the matter as he could obtain.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXCELLENT MY LORD:

"Perhaps among your Excellency's many occupations, it may not displease you to learn how his Majesty here has won a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. There is in this kingdom a Venetian fellow, Master John Caboto by name — a man of a fine mind, greatly skilled in navigation; who, seeing that the most serene kings, first he of Portugal, and then the one of Spain have occupied unknown islands, determined to make a like acquisition for his Majesty aforesaid. And having obtained by royal grants that he should have the usufruct of all that he should discover, provided that the ownership of the same were reserved to the crown, with a small ship and eighteen persons he committed himself to fortune; and having set out from Bristol, a western port of this kingdom, and passed the western limits of Hibernia, and then standing to the northward, he began to steer westward, leaving (after a few days) the North Star on his right hand; and having wandered about considerably at last he fell in with *terra firma*, whence, having planted there the royal banner and taken possession

on behalf of the King, and taken certain tokens, he has returned. The said Master John, as being foreign born and poor, would not be believed, if his comrades, who are almost all Englishmen and from Bristol, did not testify that what he says is true. This Master John has the description of the world in a chart, and also in a solid globe which he has made, and he [or the chart and the globe] shows where he landed, and that going toward the East he passed considerably beyond the country of the Tanais. And they say that it is a very good and temperate country, and they think that Brazil-wood and silks grow there; and they affirm that that sea is covered with fishes, which are caught not only with the net but with baskets, a stone being tied to them in order that the baskets may sink in the water. And this I heard the said Master John relate, and the aforesaid Englishmen, his comrades, say that they will bring so many fishes that this kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there comes a very great store of fish which are called stock-fish. But Master John has set his mind on something greater; for he expects to go farther on toward the East (Levant,) from that place already occupied, constantly hugging the shore, until he shall be over against [or "on the other side of"] an island, by him called Cipango, situated in the equinoctial region, where he thinks all the spices of the world, and also the precious stones originate; and he says that in former times he was at Mecca, whither spices are brought by caravans from distant countries, and that those who brought them, on being asked where the said spices grow, answered that they do not know, but that other caravans come to their homes with this merchandise from distant countries, and these [caravans] again say that they are brought to them from other remote regions. And he argues thus,—that if

the Orientals affirm to the Southerners that these things come from a distance from them, and so from hand to hand, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it must be that the last ones get them at the North towards the West; and he said it in such a way, that, having nothing to gain or lose by it, I too believe it; and what is more, the King here, who is wise and not lavish, likewise puts some faith in him; for ever since his return he has made good provision for him, as the same Master John tells me. And it is said that, in the Spring, his Majesty aforenamed, will fit out some ships, and will besides give him all the convicts, and they will go to that country to make a colony, by means of which they hope to establish in London a greater storehouse of spices than there is in Alexandria; and the chief men of the enterprise are of Bristol, great sailors, who, now that they know where to go, say that it is not a voyage of more than fifteen days, nor do they ever have storms after they get away from Hibernia. I have also talked with a Burgundian, a comrade of Master John's, who confirms everything, and wishes to return thither, because the Admiral, (for so Master John already entitles himself) has given him an island; and he has given another one to a barber of his, from Castiglione, near Genoa, and both of them regard themselves as Counts, nor does my Lord the Admiral esteem himself anything less than a Prince. I think that with this expedition there will go several poor Italian monks, who have all been promised bishoprics. And as I have become a friend of the Admiral's, if I wish to go thither I should get an archbishopric. But I have thought that the benefices which your Excellency has in store for me are a surer thing; and therefore I beg that if these should fall vacant in my absence, you will cause possession to be given to me, taking measures to do this

rather [especially] where it is needed, in order that they be not taken from me by others, who because they are present can be more diligent than I, who in this country have been brought to the pass of eating ten or twelve dishes at every meal, and sitting at table three hours at a time twice a day, for the sake of your Excellency, to whom I humbly commend myself.

"Your Excellency's

"Very humble servant,

"RAIMUNDUS.

"LONDON, Dec. 18, 1497."

In February, 1498, Henry VII. granted

"To our wellbeloved John Kabotto Venecian, sufficiente auctorite and power, that he . . . may take at his pleasure VI Englisshe shippes."

Upon this Cabot sailed with a fleet to follow up his discovery. We know not when he sailed, but it was sometime, says Mr. Harrisse, after April 1, 1498. On that day the sovereign loaned thirty pounds to Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkill, who owned or commanded one of the ships "going to the New Isle." Of his return, our authority gives us nothing but that Launcelot Thirkill was in London on June 6, 1501, and repaid the King's loan of thirty pounds. "There is no ground whatever," says Mr. Harrisse, "for the assertion, frequently repeated, that John Cabot did not command this second expedition, or that it was undertaken after his death by his son." It was Sebastian Cabot, and the writers and mapmakers under his influence, who made the world believe that he and not his

father coasted the continent in 1498 between $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and 36° north latitude.

At any rate, upon the fact that the northern continent was discovered and coasted under the flag of Henry VII. Englishmen based their claim to possess the land, with all its islands and waters, to settle it, and to drive out all intruders or compel their allegiance. This claim took little heed of papal bulls—less still after the next King, Henry VIII., renounced for England the authority of the Roman See.

The other nations derided, denied, and contested the claim; but they could not withstand the destiny of a new English race.

While Henry VII. was still on the throne, several other voyages were made to the "Newe Lande," mostly fitted out by rich merchants for trade; but they had small results. A few savages, said to have been brought by Sebastian Cabot, were the chief curiosity of London in 1502. The King's privy purse account shows:

"17th November 1503. To one that brought hawkes from Newfoundland isle, 1 l.

"25th August, 1505. To Clay's going to Richmond with wild catts and popyngays of the Newfound isle, for his costs, 13s., 4d."

Meantime Europe rang with news of the brilliant achievements of Spanish and Portuguese navigators, returning with Columbus or on independent expeditions, not only from the West Indies and the southern continent, but from the northern as well.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.
Redrawn from *Vita e Lettre di Amerigo Vespucci.*

Under the flag of the young King Emmanuel of Portugal, Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal coasted six or seven hundred miles, from what is now Pensacola Bay to the region of Labrador.

"The unique and peculiarly shaped map made by the German cartographer, Johann Ruysch, contained in the edition of Claudius Ptolemy's geography printed at Rome in 1508, is the earliest engraved chart on which appears the field of discovery in the western hemisphere, entered by Columbus, Cabot, Cortereal, Cabral, Vaspucdi, and other early explorers of the coast of the new continent."

An old French writer says:

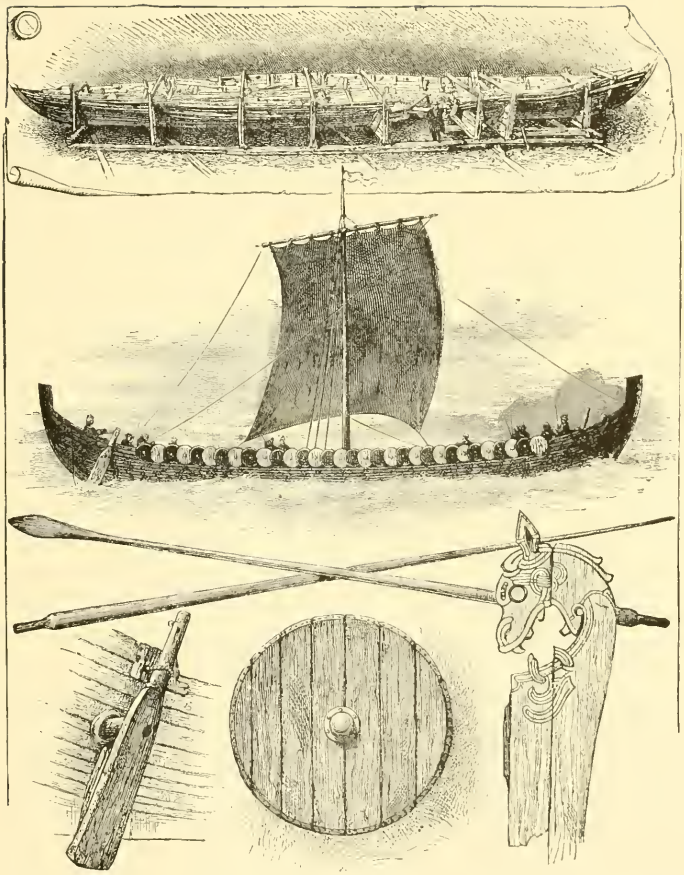
"In 1508 a ship of Dieppe, called La Pensée, owned by Jean Ango and commanded by Thomas Aubert, and another ship commanded by Giovanni da Verrazano, entered a river called Hochlega after the great Indian chief, from whose country it flowed, but which the voyagers named St. Lawrence, because they began to ascend it on the day of that Saint. They explored the river for more than eighty leagues, finding the inhabitants friendly, with whom they made very profitable exchanges for peltries."

From that time on, fishermen, traders, and buccaneers from all the seaports of Europe frequented these coasts every spring, returning home in the autumn with profitable cargoes, "all well armed, holding their fares of fish not merely by the hook but by the sword, as the national law of the fisheries."

The country as a whole was called merely the New

Land or New World, until fifteen years after Columbus's discovery, when Waldseemüller, a German professor of geography, recommended that it should be called *Amerige*, or *America*, for Amerigo Vespucci, then the chief historian of the discoveries. Vespucci was a Florentine by birth, in the service of a merchant of Seville, whose employment by a house engaged in equipping vessels for voyages of discovery kept him in the way of hearing so much of the new land that, after Columbus's second voyage (so he said, but many doubted it), he started out for himself. It is barely possible that he was the first to touch the southern continent. He made two expeditions for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, two for Emmanuel of Portugal; which he said he described at the time. Afterward he made full narratives of them in a volume which he called *Le Quattro Giornate*,—*The Four Journeys*. These narratives seemed so important to Waldseemüller that he made use of them in an introduction to his new geography, advising his readers, as we have seen, to call the new land America. The name was popular at once. Probably the honoured author of *The Four Journeys* had nothing to say about it, and was not guilty of trying to rob Columbus of his rightful glory. The name America was placed on the map of the world in 1509; and practically it has remained there ever since.

In that year Henry VII. of England died, having added little to the Cabot discoveries. Henry VIII.'s long reign of nearly forty years accomplished scarcely anything more. Several voyages were made,



1. SIDE VIEW OF THE VIKING SHIP UNEARTHED AT GOGSTAD, NORWAY. 2. VIKING SHIP RESTORED. 3. DETAILS OF VIKING SHIP.

especially to Newfoundland and the long coast of the mainland beyond, which began to be known as Arembec or Norumbega. Among these voyages was that of John Rut, who is supposed to have sailed "towards Cape Breton and the coasts of Arembec." Robert Hore also commanded an expedition of "some thirty gentlemen by birth and training"; who have left nothing for our story.

In this gay monarch's reign the mind of the English people, if not then their enterprise, was turned toward the New World by Sir Thomas More's remarkable book, *Utopia*. Still more important, for the future, was the King's break with the Church of Rome; teaching the ways of defiance against established religion, which were to be trod by sects not yet thought of as the very highway to the settlement of the savage wilderness. Last but not least, his Majesty was inspired to establish the English navy as a distinct service. His statesmen, his geographers, merchants, and mariners of every grade, from the officers of the new navy down to the roughest dare-devil pirates, all had an eye to the West, although for several years they kept in the strongest current of the age, and rounded the Hebrides in search of a north-east passage to Asia; attaching more value "to this visionary project than to the solid gain which the American trade and fisheries placed within their grasp."

It was not so with Spain and France. Juan Ponce, of the ancient Spanish town of Leon, fitted out a very large and costly expedition to search the northern continent for the fabled fountain of youth,

believed from the time of Norse vikings to exist somewhere among the verdant mysteries of the New World. Ponce made the coast of what we call Georgia on Easter Sunday, 1513. After landing among the flowers and green groves, he decided that it was another island, and that the most fitting name for it was the popular Spanish name for the Day of the Resurrection, *Pascua Florida*, the Feast of Flowers. As Pascua Florida, and finally as Florida, therefore, all this portion of the New World was known in Europe until the English claimed the northerly and greater part of it under the name of Virginia. The discoverer coasted southward from his landfall a long way before he rounded the peninsula which of all the vast territory he claimed retains the name he gave it, and remained in possession of Spain until the beginning of the nineteenth century. On his return to court, Ponce was made adelantado of his "island" and of the Spaniards' vague Bimini, with authority first to reduce the Caribs or cannibals of the Bermudas, and then to conquer and colonise Florida. It was not an easy task to reduce the Caribs, and while that was afoot other adventurers visited Florida, some of them West Indian slave-snatchers, who taught the natives to dread the Spaniards in their bright armour as they did the plague. While nearly ten years were added to the dreaded old age of the discoverer of Florida, the country was further explored by his countrymen, and found not to be an island. Some visitors merely touched there, as Diego Miruelo, in 1516, who said he found gold, and Hernandez de Cordova and Juan

de Grijalva, who came in the two following years. From France a colony was sent out to the northern region by the Baron de Léry; but they did no more than land a few head of cattle on Sable Island,

JUAN PONCE DE LEON.
Redrawn from Herrera's *History of the West Indies.*

which throve and multiplied and saved another party of Frenchmen from starvation, eighty years afterward. The next year, 1519, the most remarkable explorations in the Floridas were made by

Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda, sent out by Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica. Pineda proved that the northern and southern continents were connected. He entered the mouth of the greatest of all the New World rivers — that which the natives called Ochechitou, or Great River, and Miche-Sepe, or Father of Waters. The Catholic Spaniard piously renamed it Rio del Espiritu Santo,— River of the Holy Spirit. Following the coast farther eastward, he added somewhat to Juan Ponce's discoveries of the peninsula. Others found the coast of Florida at almost the same time. Two scandalous expeditions came from San Domingo, one sent by Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, by his own account, to discover a place for a colony, the other boldly despatched for slaves by Juan de Matienzo. Both these patrons were officers of the Emperor Charles V. in San Domingo. Their vessels were together, on St. John Baptist's Day, 1520, when they made an unknown shore at the mouth of a river which they named from the festival. They set up the holy cross, and claimed the country in the name of their patrons. Both the crews then enticed more than a hundred friendly natives on board their vessels, and sailed off with them. On their arrival at San Domingo, De Ayllon was very angry, it is said, declared the captives free, and gave orders for their return, which raised a mighty quarrel with Matienzo, who never denied that his expedition was to kidnap slaves from the Bahamas. This was in 1521, the year in which Juan Ponce at length returned to his charming Pascua Florida with a great company,

equipped to outshine the conquests of Mexico and Peru. The natives recognised him as a Spaniard, and greeted his attempts to land with showers of poisoned arrows. The glittering company were driven back to their vessels, the commander carrying his death wound with him. After ten years of adventure, costing hundreds of men and thousands in money, the Spaniards had found nothing but a few facts concerning the coasts and the isthmus connecting the two vast bodies of land so long thought to be islands of India. But the adventurers came back with plenty of weird and fascinating tales, brilliant with the gold and jewels they could not find, and peopled with giants and pigmies.

The kings of Europe were filled with wonder and envy. Francis I. of France exclaimed, "Look at Spain and Portugal! Why should these princes coolly divide the New World between them? I should like to see that article of Adam's will which gives them America!" The next explorations of the northern continent were French, under command of Giovanni da Verrazano, the Florentine who is said to have entered and named the St. Lawrence River some fifteen years before. Francis I., in spite of all that John III. of Portugal could do to hinder, sent Verrazano out in 1524 to explore and take possession of lands not already taken; a voyage that has been much scoffed at by rivals, even to the point of denying that it was made. In the barque *La Dauphine*, Verrazano is said by his defenders to have made his landfall at about the 34th parallel, on the coast of what is now North

Carolina. Thence he cruised southward to somewhere near the southern limit of Georgia. Then, putting about, he made thorough search all the way to the Gulf of St. Lawrence for a passage to Cathay; which resulted in the first extended and fully de-

CACIQUE GOING TO RECEIVE PONCE DE LEON.
Redrawn from Montani's *America*.

scribed explorations of the seaboard of the Thirteen Colonies. Verrazano described and named for France the waters, the country, and the people, in a narrative and a letter to Francis I., which are interesting reading to this day. They are prized by France, not only for the honour of the explorations,

but because they contain the first approximate estimate of the size of the globe; much larger than that of the ancients, accepted by Columbus and all navigators up to Verrazano's time. These explorations, taken with those of the Spaniards and Portuguese,—especially Fernando de Magalhaens,—furnished almost conclusive evidence that the New Land was no part of Asia. Verrazano said he was convinced that it was "another world, evidently larger than our Europe together with Africa and perhaps Asia." France was jubilant. All Europe rang with praise of Verrazano and the land he called Francesca. Some say that another expedition was fitted out in which the great Florentine sailed to his destruction in the spring of 1526. An old record says:

"having gone on land with some of his men, he and they were all put to death by the inhabitants, and in the presence of those on board the ship, were roasted and devoured."

This same year, 1526, the Spaniard, De Ayllon, took up the plans that had been upset by Matienzo's slave-stealing crew ten years before, and which Matienzo himself had fought with bitter enmity ever since. Triumphant at last, De Ayllon sailed with three large vessels to carry out the Spaniards' first humane project for our continent. He took back all the kidnapped natives still living and a missionary colony of nearly six hundred Spaniards, men and women, led by the famous Dominican missionary, Father Antonio de Cervantes, who first

denounced slavery. This brave company came to shore at the Santee River. There they lost one of their vessels and built a *gavarra*, the first North American shipbuilding on record. Then they coasted northward and thought they had found the explorers' dearest hope, a strait leading to the Spice Islands. They, or some later Spaniards, called it the Bay of St. Mary. The natives called it Chesapeake, or Mother of Waters. The happy explorers decided to build the first city of their colony on a peninsula in a good river on the western shore of the bay; but they had barely started the settlement of San Miguel when the whole company perished from cold, from hunger, from fever,—which carried off De Ayllon,—from strife among themselves, or at the hands of the natives, who cleared the peninsula of every trace of them, ready for the English to select it, nearly a century later, for Jamestown, the capital of their first permanent colony in Virginia.

The Spaniards were still undaunted. Charles V. chartered a new expedition, under Estevan Gomez, a Portuguese, and a famous rival of Magalhaens. Gomez, in 1525, explored the coast from Bacallaos, as the northerly codfish regions were called, to Florida, proving to Spain that there was no strait to Cathay through North America. Again, in 1528, Florida was visited for gold by Pamphilio de Narvaez, who had helped Velasquez to conquer the West Indies, but had failed to subdue Cortez in Mexico. His magnificent expedition, which is said to have penetrated to the Pacific, searched long for the precious metal, but they only found the true

character of the country: an almost shelterless coast and swampy shore, the inland covered with forests, teeming with poisonous reptiles, and inhabited by a barbarous people, whose scarce and wretched hamlets knew something of famine but nothing of gold. A few of Pamphilio's poor fellows survived, bereft of all their magnificence, to tell their tale of distress and hardships, and to give the lie to the familiar marvels of the Land of Flowers.

Meantime the venturesome spirit of Francis I. of France was moved to find a man to carry out the plans of Verrazano's fatal undertaking. The French King's great advantage over his Spanish rival was that the discoverer he employed had not been a visionary, but a keen observer and, for the times, a truthful narrator. He had seen that the mighty river St. Lawrence came a long distance from the west, and that unlimited trade in furs and fish awaited those who chose to develop it. So, eight years after Verrazano's disappearance, when Francis saw Jacques Cartier, a seaman of St. Malo, and recognised the genius that had made him "*The Corsair*" among all the bold sea-rovers of France, his Majesty sent him out to explore and take possession of the St. Lawrence country. Cartier was the man for the mission. In four voyages he fulfilled it,— extended his master's dominion over a New France ten times larger than the old, opened a new source of wealth to his treasury and his people, and found a vast field for the Catholic Church, whose sphere of influence in Europe had been much reduced by the Reformation. Soon

after Cartier's third voyage, in 1541, his Majesty sent a Lieutenant and Governor of Canada and Hochelaga in Jean François de la Rocque, Seigneur de Roberval, whom Charlevoix called the Lord of the whole of Norumbega. He settled a colony of men and women at Charlesbourg Royal, below Quebec, while Jean Allefonsce, his "very expert pilot general," scoured the coast of Norumbega and made a *Cosmographie*, with descriptions and maps, of much importance in its time, but perhaps still more wonderful in our own, with such rare reading as this:

"These lands reach to Tartary, and I think that it is the end of Asia, according to the roundness of the world. I have been at a bay as far as 42° [Massachusetts Bay], between Norumbega and Florida, but I have not seen the end and do not know whether it extends any farther."

As soon as the French settlements were undertaken, the merchants of enterprising seaports sent as many as sixty ships every January and February for about five years, to fish for cod off the New Lands. From Havre, Rouen, Dieppe, and Honfleur about two ships sailed every day during the season. At first they were welcomed by shots from Spanish and Portuguese vessels about Newfoundland, but an escort of the King's cruisers was soon detailed to offer the enemy as good as they gave. Frenchmen then made several attempts to place colonies on the islands and mainland near the fishing-banks, but they all failed. The traders succeeded, and kept up communication between the New

HERNANDO DE SOTO.
From an old Print.

France and the old till at length a permanent settlement was made by the Sieur de Champlain in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Spaniards set spies to watch these movements and crush any attempt to take possession of the southerly portion of the continent whither fresh expeditions again pursued the fatal mirage of a rich native empire. Hernando de Soto, a hero in the conquest of Peru, with a glittering company of six hundred men, picked from the nobility of Spain and Portugal, landed at Tampa Bay in 1539 for a grand conquest of the Floridas. Nearly half of his men were mounted on superb horses; provision was made for all possible needs; but the expedition soon became a dreary search through swamp and forest, varied only by an occasional outbreak of wild defiance from the natives, whom De Soto treated most brutally. By frightful tortures he wrung from them fanciful tales of gold mines and empires, and then forced his company to follow the fabricated trails while they hungered and sickened, lost their clothing and armour, their weapons, and many of them their lives. Still De Soto zigzagged through the country, north, south, west, until, in 1541, he came upon the mighty yellow river, the natives' Miche-Sepe, the Rio del Espiritu Santo of his own countrymen. With the aid of the natives De Soto's cavalcade crossed the broad waters and kept on their westward way for several hundred miles. His men protested, but could not induce him to turn back until his fiery zeal broke down with his health. He died when they were near the mouth of the Red

River, and was buried in the Father of Waters—the finding and crossing of which was his only glory in return for all the cost and the cruelty of the expedition. The few who still lived made quick work of building boats to run down the river. When the broken remnant arrived in Mexico, they had not so much as an intelligent record of their wanderings to add to the world's scant knowledge of the vast and mysterious continent they alone had penetrated.

Diego Maldonado and Gomez Arias, in search of De Soto, coasted the continent with diligent explorations, almost from the Mississippi to Newfoundland. Their reports were lost; but nothing shook the Spaniards' faith in their destiny to know and possess the northern as well as the southern continent. De Soto's atrocious treatment of the natives was condemned by the Dominican Order, and a new expedition to Florida was organised in 1549 by the noble Mexican Father Cancer and several others of honoured memory, to take back the natives who had been carried off into slavery and try by every kindness to teach the people the "true religion." But they found themselves too late. The natives would not let them land. Father Cancer and four others were killed on the shore while praying for the heathen souls of their murderers. The rest escaped, leaving the returned slaves behind them. Yet, before another decade passed, Don Luis de Velasco, the humane Viceroy of Mexico and "Father of the Indians," fitted out two missions to Florida under powers from the new King, Philip

II. The first, in 1558, was given to Guido de Labazares; the second, in the next year, was placed under Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano. De Luna set out with an army of fifteen hundred men and a large number of missionaries, the most carefully organised of all Spanish attempts to colonise North America. Both failed to subdue either the bodies or the souls of the red men. Only a wretched handful of De Luna's men, and of two relief parties from Don Luis, returned to tell more tales of disappointments and suffering. Angel de Villafañe, however, with some of De Luna's men, in May, 1561, took possession for Philip II. of the Santee River and of the Gulf of Santa Elena in what is now South Carolina. De Villafañe explored the coast; but he soon lost most of his fleet in a storm off Cape Hatteras. Philip II. then declared that no further attempts should be made to colonise the savage country. It could be trusted, he said, to keep out the French as effectually as themselves; and a council in Mexico of travelled men who had been in the Floridas gave it as their opinion that his Majesty was correct.

Yet Frenchmen settled on the Gulf of Santa Elena within a year. In France this was the time of the boy king, Charles IX., when his regent-mother, Catherine de' Medici, was determined to rid the realm of the Protestants, or Huguenots as they were called. Their leader, the noble Admiral Coligny, fitted out a company to flee the country, under the care of Jean Ribault of Dieppe, a brave and experienced seaman, who was to seek for them, and others

to follow, an asylum somewhere on the "long coast of the West India called La Florida." In May, 1562, half a century after Juan Ponce de Leon raised the standard of Spain on this long coast, and some forty years after the San Domingo slavers named the St. John's River, the good *émigrés* entered the same pleasant stream. They called it the River of May. Near the mouth, Ribault set up a stone column cut with the arms of France. Strange as it seems, the natives were friendly. But the place was not quite to the minds of the company, so they went on up the coast, past the mouth of one stream after another, till they came to a harbour that delighted them. It was Santa Elena. The French would have it nothing less than the Port Royal which it is to this day. All the ships of Europe might be harboured there, they said. Again the natives were friendly. The red men seem to have known a Frenchman from a Spaniard as far as they could see him. Stories of the humane settlers of the far north, perhaps, had spread down the coast, and were weighed against the cruelties whereby De Soto and others had made all Spaniards hated.

Ribault built a fort, called Charlesfort, or Carolina, in honour of Charles IX., on a little island in what is now Archer's Creek, about six miles from Beaufort. There he left a party of thirty men to begin the settlement, while he went to France to fetch another company and supplies. But the unworthy colonists deserted their trust to turn pirates, and some found refuge in England.

The Huguenots' troubles in France prevented Coligny from sending any more for two years. Then a company, under René de Laudonnière, came to the May and built another Fort Carolina, on what is now St. John's Bluff. It was not within the territory of the Thirteen Colonies, but it cannot be passed by, for the settlement and the quarrels over it had much to do with putting the coast to the northward in the possession of the English; and its later history was interwoven with that of its neighbours until at length it entered their Union as a State. Laudonnière's colony was as bad as Ribault's. Although come in the name of religion, they soon neglected the settlement to search for the "mountaine of Apalachi," where gold was to be found without labour. Worse, they made unprovoked assaults on the natives, and many of them turned filibusters against the Spaniards. In 1565 they were found starving by Sir John Hawkins, one of the famous English buccaneers of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Hawkins has many a black mark to his name. He was then on the way home from a successful sale to the West India Spaniards of a cargo of negroes he had kidnapped on the coast of Guinea. Curiosity, perhaps an eye for conquest, took him to the French settlement on the coast his sovereign claimed by right of the Cabot discoveries. But when he found it occupied by a parcel of poor, starving Protestant French, he sold them food generously, it is said, for some of their guns, threw in a few presents, and sailed off to gratify his curiosity by coasting the continent as far as Newfoundland. He

was barely gone when Ribault arrived from France with seven ships loaded with colonists and supplies.

By that time Philip II. of Spain had heard what was going on, and had sent orders to the adelantado of Florida to "burn and destroy such Lutheran French as should be in his dominions." The adelantado was Pedro Menendez, General of the Fleet of Spain, a man who delighted in such orders. With the enormous force of nineteen armed vessels and some fifteen hundred men he cut short the French merrymaking over Ribault's arrival with butcheries too horrible to describe. Eight hundred were killed, most of them near the inlet still called "the bloody river of Matanzas." Laudonnière and a handful of colonists escaped to France. A few others fled into the wilds of the country and lived with the natives. Their forts and settlements were razed or made Spanish without delay. Fort Carolina on the May became San Mateo on the St. John's. A new post, Santa Lucia de Cañaveral, was placed at the mouth of the River of Dolphins, while on the bloody Matanzas the fort and city of St. Augustine were laid out for the adelantado's capital. The abandoned French Fort Carolina of Port Royal was rebuilt for the outpost of San Felipe on the Bay of Santa Elena, and Captain Reynoso was sent farther north to fix a fortified mission on the Bay of St. Mary, or Chesapeake, in the country of the great chief Axacan. After two years of such labours the adelantado allowed himself a holiday in Spain to visit his wife and family, whom he had not seen for twenty years.

The French Queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, did not disturb herself over the massacre of the *émigrés*. Menendez had been careful to assert that he did it not as to Frenchmen but as to heretics. But one Frenchman at least determined to avenge the butchery of his brothers. Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier of distinguished name, had himself tasted Spanish brutality as a prisoner of war in the galleys. When he heard of the massacre at Matanzas, he took out a royal commission as a Guinea slaver, equipped three vessels, and manned them with nearly two hundred men, the hardiest sailors and men-at-arms that he could find. They sailed to Guinea for slaves, then to the Spanish West Indies to sell their cargoes; and no suspicions were aroused. When the slaves were sold, it is said he told his errand to his officers, so kindling their vengance that they cried, "On to San Mateo, though we hang for pirates!" The batteries at the mouth of the St. John's River saluted them as Spaniards and let them pass. Further, a band of friendly natives, and a fugitive Frenchman among them, heard with joy of De Gourgues's purpose. Olotocara, nephew of the great chief Satourioua, joined them with a large force of his braves and led an immediate night attack upon San Mateo. They surprised and slew the sentinels at their posts, overpowered the garrison, many times larger than De Gourgues's force, and hanged them on the trees that Menendez had turned into gallows for the French. De Gourgues posted there:

"I do this not as to Spaniards nor as unto Mariners, but as to Traitors, Robbers, and Murderers."

Then he went away, as swiftly as he had come, without a blow at St. Augustine, for which his force was too small. He had done more than he knew, however. The natives, seeing that the Spaniards were not heaven-protected, invincible beings, continued the work of vengeance on their own score, and hampered Spanish settlement in that region for ever.

Menendez returned soon after the massacre, finding unexpected need of the missionaries, soldiers, and supplies he brought from Spain. San Mateo was regarrisoned; San Felipe and St. Augustine were strongly reinforced. In 1570, another more northerly mission was started, some distance up the Rappahannock River, in the chapel of La Madre de Dios de Iacan. The heathen of the great chief Axacan were appealed to by the devoted fathers, chiefly with the help of a converted native who had been baptised in Mexico, and bore the name of the viceroy who protected his people, Don Luis de Velasco. There were some to say that the converted Luis and the unconverted people of Iacan encouraged the mission only to make the more to destroy. At any rate it was utterly demolished, and the Chesapeake again reserved for the long-delaying English. Menendez, in his punishment of the Indians, left no compassion for any Spaniard there for ever. He went to Iacan, kidnapped as many of the savages as he could, and hanged them at the yard-arm. After that, his own nephew was

killed by a southerly tribe; San Felipe had to be abandoned, and probably San Mateo at the same time. St. Augustine was menaced, but held out only to be ready for a more formidable enemy, Sir Francis Drake, who burned it for the honour of England and the Virgin Queen Elizabeth.

The name of Elizabeth stands for England in the Golden Age which made good the claims of the Cabot discoveries. Drake was the type of the great Queen's buccaneers of the Caribbean Sea, then called the Spanish Main, who were the forerunners and often the pathfinders of the most successful explorers and colonists in America. Strongly as the English had asserted their claim, they had done so little to make it good that after seventy years it was evident that Spain and France would divide the country between them if one could not drive out the other. Much as these two Latin nations desired the land, each was still more anxious that it should not be possessed by the other. Their persistent enmity, more, perhaps, than the mistakes and calamities that so often undid the work of their settlements, let the middle seaboard slip from both of them. For a full century this country of temperate climate and boundless commercial possibilities was thus reserved for the people who were best fitted to settle and develop it, and who were able to profit by the mistakes of their predecessors.

By many widely different means the English were prepared for this undertaking. It required vast sums of money, military and naval talent, courage, piety, and an endless fertility in resource; above all

else, it required an object for emigration so dear to men's souls that to turn back would be worse than to die where they stood.

Meanwhile the thoughts of the English under the son of Henry VIII., the boy-King Edward VI., or of his daughter Mary, who respected papal bulls and was tender of Spanish claims as a devout Catholic and the wife of Philip II. of Spain, rarely turned in the direction of the New World. Elizabeth was of a different mind. She snapped her fingers at Catholics in both hemispheres, and waged a mighty war on Philip and his subjects. But she knew not how well she builded in chartering Drake and Hawkins and all her most daring seamen to do their worst on the ships of her royal brother-in-law, the greatest of which were among the fleets sent to South America and the West Indies. The English buccaneers who took to the Spanish Main sailed well and fought well for the wealth and the fame of the Queen's navy, while they improved what opportunities they had to look for further conquests and to add to the scant knowledge of the Cabot country. Even their misfortunes were sometimes useful. When Hawkins lost part of his fleet in 1568, and was obliged to put over one hundred men ashore in Mexico, David Ingram and two others turned tramps, the first of a long race in America. These brave fellows made their way afoot, by the Indian trails, along the coast of our colonies and beyond, to the river which Champlain long afterwards called the St. John, whence a French vessel took them home. They told Elizabeth and all England more

about the seaboard than the exploring expeditions had gathered since the discovery. If Ingram embellished his accounts with forecastle yarns, he also told with truth of what Spaniards had done in Florida and Frenchmen in Canada, which was startling to her Majesty, considering that she had not a subject in the land. Her fishermen, traders, and pirates frequented the northerly waters, holding their own against Spaniards, Portuguese, and Frenchmen with shot and sabre, and making good livings, even small fortunes, but caring nothing to graft the stock of Old England on the soil. That honour was reserved for Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a courtier and statesman whose name has lived through centuries, as it was owned among his friends, as the flower of his day. Gilbert obtained leave from Queen Elizabeth to attack the shipping of Spain under patents to discover and plant colonies in

"remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince nor inhabited by Christian people."

Her Majesty guaranteed to Sir Humphrey's colonists

"all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in our said realm of England"; and a government "according to such statutes as shall be by him or them established; so that the said statutes or laws conform as near as conveniently may be with

those of England, and do not oppugn the Christian faith, or any way withdraw the people of those lands from our allegiance."

Both Elizabeth and James I. gave Gilbert's successors this guarantee, that colonists should have the full rights of Englishmen. It was the foundation on which the Thirteen Colonies builded and stood immovable against the attacks of a long line of later sovereigns, till George III. was driven back, utterly defeated, and the New World Englishmen made themselves a new nation. Sir Humphrey began his labours to raise and send out colonists in 1578, the year of England's alliance with the Dutch, an event of great weight in the history of the colonies. It would be pleasant to dwell on the story of Gilbert's undertaking and the preparations shared by his brilliant and companionable half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, if it were not the first of a long series of disasters, which taught the nation what must be done and what left undone in order to succeed. The agents of Spain used every open and secret means to hinder the brothers' work. Some historians believe that these national rivals turned back the first expedition and delayed the second for five years. Sir Humphrey made, or perhaps only tried to make, a voyage in 1578, but the next year,

"the first known English expedition to Norumbega was made in a little frigate by Simon Ferdinando, who was in the service of Walsingham."

A year later we learn that

MAP OF ROANOKE ISLAND AND ADJACENT SHORES.
From an old Print.

"the first Englishman known to have conducted an expedition to Norumbega was John Walker, in the service of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He reached the Penobscot, of which he gave a rough description, finding the region rich in furs. He discovered a silver mine where modern enterprise is now every year opening new veins of silver and gold. This voyage proved a short one,—the return trip being made directly to France, where the hides which he had secured were sold for forty shillings apiece."

Sir Humphrey himself took out a colony in 1583, landed on the shores of Newfoundland and Cabot's island of St. John; but, unable to settle his people satisfactorily, he turned homeward to make other preparations, and perished on the way with most of his fleet.

Raleigh then took the cause on his own shoulders, and obtained new patents and more definite powers to explore and colonise the entire country between Florida and Canada. He sent out an expedition before the end of 1584, under Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlowe. They made the coast of what is now North Carolina, probably entered the Albemarle Sound by New Inlet, and going northward landed twice, the second time on a beautiful island, called something like Roanoke by the natives. Then they returned to England, taking two of the savages with them, and many curiosities to illustrate the description of the island, which so delighted the Queen that she called the whole region Virginia, from her own maidenhood, appointed Raleigh the governor, and dubbed him knight. Sir Walter's undertaking was then honoured by all England.

He was called the "Shepherd of the Ocean," and had no lack of offers from men of rank and wealth to join with him to fit out a colony. A fleet of seven ships, commanded by Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, left Plymouth in the spring of 1585, "with one hundred house-holders and many things necessary to begin a new state," under the directions or misdirections of Ralph Lane. The settlement was made on the north-east corner of the island.

"There, even now, choked by vines and underwood, and here and there broken by the crumbling remains of an earthen bastion, may be traced the outlines of the ditch which enclosed the camp, some forty yards square, the home of the first English people in the New World."

They had many trials with the natives, with sickness, and at length with hunger. Sir Francis Drake found them in distress when he paid them a passing call on the way home after the fulfilment of his pious duty to Elizabeth and to Protestantism in burning and plundering St. Augustine. The colonists induced Drake to take them with him; and all but four of the original number were back in Plymouth a year and three months from the time they left it.

"Thomas Hariot carried with him a carefully prepared description of the country,— its inhabitants, animals, birds, and fish,— and John White, the artist of the expedition, carried illustrations in water colours. Specimens of the production of the country were also carried

by the colonists; and of these, two, though not previously unknown in Europe, Raleigh brought into general use. One was the plant called by the natives *uppowoc*, but named by the Spaniards *tobacco;* the other, the root known as the *potato*, which was introduced into Ireland by being planted on the estate of Raleigh. Hariot described a very useful grain for food called by the Indians *pagatour*, by us, Indian corn."

Four ships with supplies and new colonists reached Roanoke soon after the other's departure. Grenville was appalled at finding no trace of the colony. After diligent search he turned toward England with a heavy heart, leaving fifteen men to hold the settlement, with food enough to keep them two years. They were never heard of again. Meantime Sir Walter determined to give up Roanoke for a better site on the mainland in the Chesapeake. He chartered a colonising society of merchants and raised a company of women as well as men, who went forth to plant the city of Raleigh, in Virginia. One of their leaders, returning to England for supplies, brought word that they were safely at Roanoke, and that a baby girl had been added to them, Virginia Dare, the first English child born in the New World. Nothing more is known of them. That was not because the shepherd neglected his fold, although Elizabeth's war with Philip II. laid heavy demands upon him to carry out his shipbuilding policy, "which, steadily pursued, made England the great naval power of the world." His own supply ships were impressed by the government, or caught by the Spaniards, so that two years passed

before anyone from him reached the island. Then the colony had utterly disappeared.

Several unnamed expeditions seem to have been made to the coast in the next few years. Some went to the northerly fisheries and peltry regions and smuggled their cargoes into France. Through them or by other means Richard Hakluyt, the elder, was able to write a fair description of the region; he even mentioned the copper mines at what is now the Bay of Menan in Maine. Richard Strong of Apsham in 1593 sailed "up and down the coast of Arembec to the west and south-west of Cape Breton," and saw what he "judged to be Christians" in sailing craft. Raleigh made another supreme effort in 1602, sending out an exceedingly well-equipped expedition under the experienced mariner, Captain Samuel Mace, who only brought home a load of sassafras,

"a plant of souereigne vertue for the French Poxe, and as some of late have learnedly written, good against the Plague and many other Maladies."

Then Raleigh tried no more to sow the seed of an English commonwealth in Virginia. During fifteen years he had fitted or helped to fit at least half a dozen expeditions; he had spent the prime of his life and some forty thousand pounds, all apparently to no purpose. The Queen withdrew her favour, and his creditors fell upon him. The chief among his assigns was Sir Thomas Smith, a wealthy London merchant, the first president of the East India Company. He had ventured much in the colony

sent to the Chesapeake, and was to become one of the largest figures in the undertakings that followed. All his patents in Virginia Raleigh made over to Richard Hakluyt the younger, historian of his undertakings and the translator into English of nearly all that was known of America up to that time.

Upon these unhappy transfers, a new impulse pushed colonisation as a commercial venture, and Raleigh lived to see that Sir Humphrey's and his own melancholy ventures had blazed the way to success. In the very year (1602) of Raleigh's last effort, the noble Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, and Lord Cobham, started the momentous northerly expedition of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, one of the first Roanoke colony, destined also to be one of the immortal company who, seven years later, struck root in the flats of Jamestown. With some thirty men in the *Concord* and with Verrazano's letter in his hand, Gosnold boldly steered due west as straight as possible for the great Florentine's charming port, which has been identified as Newport. The success of the undertaking was scored in the outward passage by laying down a new route, which made the Azores a station for supplies and repairs instead of the West Indies. It shortened the voyage to North America by fifteen hundred miles, a week in time. Gosnold made his landfall near Casco Bay in Maine, and coasted southward, wondering at the quantity of fish in the sea, exploring and admiring the shore, and having a few interesting adventures with the inhabitants. He rounded Cape Cod, and named it, as also

Martha's Vineyard, in whose honour no one knows. Farther on, he explored the islands at the mouth of Buzzard's Bay, chose for his colony a sheltered nook at the end of one, called by the natives Cuttyhunk. To this he loyally gave the name of Elizabeth, which was afterwards extended to the entire group. Most of the *Concord's* company had come to stay; but seeing that food was scarce, and likely to be more so, Gosnold took them all home, with a load of sassafras, rather than repeat the tragedy of Roanoke. Besides the new route, this voyage gave Englishmen a full account of a long extent of the seaboard fit for settlement, with good harbours, well timbered, and abounding in sassafras. English corn, or wheat, and flax ripened quickly. The friendly natives showed Gosnold a good deal of copper, and he had reason to believe that gold also was to be found. The story spread like wildfire in England, to the wonder and delight of everyone. Raleigh was much pleased, and took some part with Hakluyt and a number of Bristol merchants in promptly fitting out two vessels commanded by Martin Pring, one of Gosnold's officers, and Edmund Jones.

As they sailed, Elizabeth, the source and centre of all this heroism, lay on her deathbed. James I. was on the throne when they returned to confirm and enlarge Gosnold's reports. A new set of men were to the fore in England. With the seventeenth century, the house of Stuart, and the union of Scotland with the English Crown had come the American era.

Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the rich and powerful military governor of Plymouth, and other gentlemen of the new court, sent Captain George Weymouth to the northerly shores of America in the spring of 1605; and although he stayed but a month, his reports lit the fuse of enthusiasm which created a new English nation. He took home five natives, who were instructed in the Christian religion and in practical matters, to fit them to help in the work of colonisation. "This accident," says Gorges, "must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to our plantation." A still greater means to that end was the treaty between England and Spain, made in June, 1605, whereby the Atlantic Ocean ceased to be a battle-ground for every English vessel that turned its prow toward America. Many plans were laid at once. Some were shattered by the Gunpowder Plot; but the belief that Spain was at the bottom of that frightful tragedy probably aroused zeal for the greatest undertaking of all. Most of the leading men of the realm formed a corporation, somewhat like the East India Company, which should be powerful enough to cope with any enemy and build up and monopolise the fisheries, the trade, and the plantation of North America. It was advocated by Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, as well as by Gorges, Southampton, Hakluyt the younger, by that time Prebendary of Westminster, and by the great Sir Thomas Smith. In April, 1606, James I. sanctioned the formation of two Virginia "colonies" or "companies," —

rather, perhaps, one company in two branches,—one in London, the other in Plymouth. Within a year and four months each took up England's claim in the New World. To the lands over which James I. held or claimed dominion, Virginia was added as the " Fifth Kingdom " of his Majesty's empire; a very small addition then, but the forerunner of thirteen.

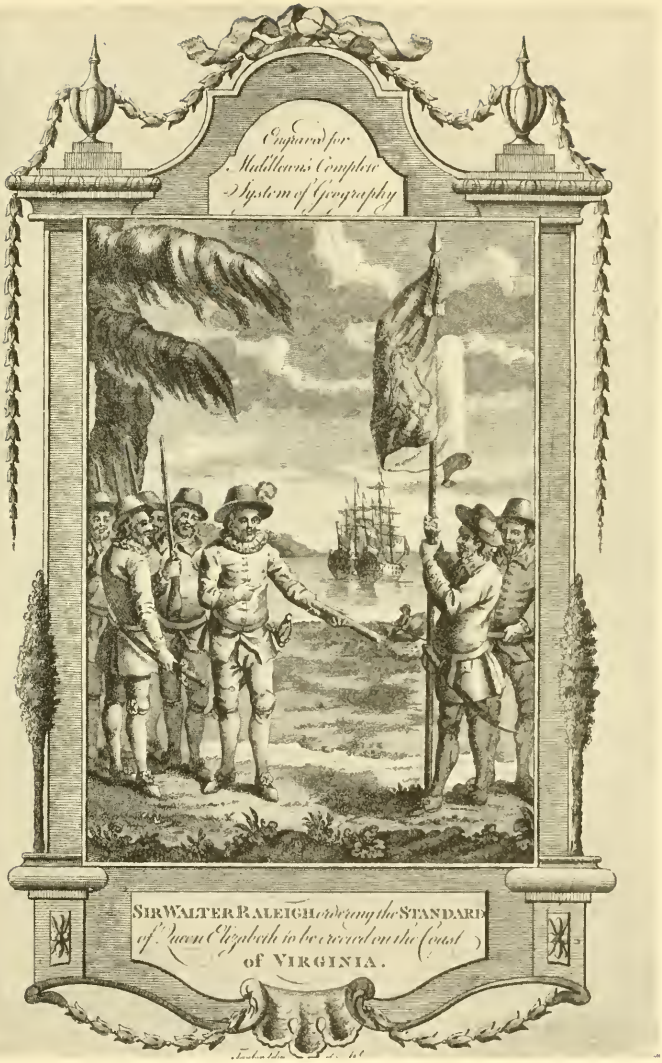
CHAPTER II

VIRGINIA, FIRST COLONY—TAKING UP THE CLAIM

THE tide of the times was with the immortal South Virginia Company. By their first effort they took up England's claim and fixed upon their territory not only the name of the Virgin Queen, but the new King also, to remind all Americans how Jamie the Scot fathered the beginning of the Thirteen Colonies. His promise that all settlers should enjoy English rights and privileges "to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England," was not only the Company's most powerful magnet to attract colonists, but the pole by which they steered their venture into the shelter of a true English commonwealth under Magna Charta. Through a council of members in London and another in the settlement, both appointed by the King, they held full power of government according to the law and the Church of England. They raised money promptly by opening a subscription to what was called "the adventure of the purse," whereby for twelve pound ten paid to the treasury, title was given to a hundred acres of

land with promise of as much more when that was cultivated. All land-holdings were subject to a quit-rent of two shillings the hundred acres, to be used for the colony. Others, "personal adventurers," accepted the offer of a "hundred" for each man taken or sent out, passage paid. Some few sturdy, independent yeomen paid their own passage for a single "hundred." But most of the First Colony were riff-raff who bound themselves to work for the Company for five years, hoping at the end of that time to receive their freedom and a "hundred" in their own right, subject of course to the quit-rent. As a supposed guarantee and protection, all at first had everything in common. Whatever they might raise from the soil, barter with the natives, or obtain in any way was to be in charge of a cape merchant, resident treasurer, or store keeper. He was to apportion shares and supplies among the colonists, and ship their products to the Company or its factors.

The great seals were scarcely upon the charter when the First Colony set sail. One hundred and five men—no women—left England, January 1, 1607, on a long voyage of nearly twelve weeks, beginning and ending in storms—their three vessels so slow and so small that the big seas almost had their way with them. The clouds lifted while they were crossing the broad water of the Chesapeake, revealing "a country which heaven and earth have agreed to make the place to live in,"—the blooming dogwood and red bush, brilliant against the dark green background of the "tallest and reddest cedars in


Engraved for
Middleton's Complete
System of Geography
SIR WALTER RALEIGH delivering the STANDARD
of Queen Elizabeth to be erected on the Coast
of VIRGINIA.

the world." The strangers called their next landing-place Point Comfort. Farther on, they learned from friendly natives that they had come to the river which the Spaniards called Iacan; and the English understood as Powhatan, meaning Falling Waters, the name of a group of Algonquin tribes known as the Powhatan Confederacy. In remembrance of their own sovereign, the Englishmen must needs rename it the King's and afterwards the James River. Then the King's box was opened, and after seventeen precious days spent in trying to follow his Majesty's instructions in the choice of a site, Captain Newport, against many protests, selected the end of a low, malarial peninsula,—now an almost submerged island,—fifty miles up the river. Having moored their vessels to the trees, the colony landed (May 13, 1607), and named the

INDIAN PRINCE.
Redrawn from De Bry's *Brevis Narratio.*

place Jamestown. The Rev. Robert Hunt, sometime Vicar of Reculver in Kent, and chaplain to the expedition, held service, which was attended by all the company, in their Monmouth caps, Irish stockings, and coats of mail. A board nailed between two trees for a reading-desk and a rotten sail above it constituted the first English Church in America, until a log-cabin church was finished, "covered with rafts, sedge, and dirt." In the King's box it was found that the resident Council were the Captains Newport, Gosnold, Smith, and Sickelmore, who called himself Ratcliffe, the rich merchant and patentee Edward Maria Wingfield, George Kendall, and John Martin. They were to choose their own officers; and in the first American election Wingfield carried the vote for President against Smith. Kendall was made Treasurer. Wingfield refused to allow Smith to take his seat in the Council, because he had been arrested for trying to make himself "King of Virginia." But the first trial by jury in the New World acquitted Smith of the charge, reinstated him in the Council, and awarded him damages from Wingfield, which he turned over to the common fund. Time soon made him the only able man in the Company, for Captain Gosnold and "the religious and courageous divine," Robert Hunt, died after a few months. About one half of the party were gentlemen, beside "two chirurgeons, gold refiners, perfumers, and footmen, who had never laid hand to axe nor spade"; a few were soldiers; but one was a blacksmith, one a bricklayer, one a mason, and four were carpenters. Not a

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.
From Smith's *History of Virginia*.

likely party to make the first clearing in the primeval forest under a new climate of extreme heat and extreme cold, to fell and haul and hew the timber for their log cabins, mud-plaster and grass-thatch them. Each man must take his turn lying on the ground at night, with his gun in hand to watch for savages, whose stinging arrows had already been felt.

After the swearing in of the Council, says Smith's history, "then falleth every man to worke; the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets." Others planted corn, orange trees, potatoes, melons, and a little maize lent by friendly Indians. Still others began to enclose the settlement with a palisade of tree trunks, to be set with cannon. Meantime the men slept in such shelter as they could devise, the poorer sort in holes in the ground.

Newport, Smith, and over twenty others explored the King's River for the passage to China desired by the Company. They gathered some information about the natives, made a fair survey of the stream for one hundred and fifty miles, and set a cross where "the water falleth so rudely and with such violence not any boat could possibly pass them." Returning to Jamestown, they found the others neglecting their work to quarrel with fate and each other. Already a colonist had been killed, and the half-built fort had been attacked by some two hundred savages, enemies of the friendly Powhatans.

Newport, with a cargo of sassafras and some of

the beautiful Virginia woods for wainscoting, returned to England, where he reported the colony "in good health and comfort," having no idea that they were facing death in the "terrible summer of 1607" with its jealousy, laziness, hunger, bad water, and fear of the savages. Smith, thanks to the hardening life of Turkish camps, was well, caring for the sick, cheering the depressed and checking their quarrels. By September only half of the company were left. As soon as he could leave them, Smith began explorations up the Chickahominy River until he was stopped by a horde of Powhatans, led by the sub-chief Opekankano, who killed Smith's companions and led him captive to his brother Wahunsunakok, the head-chief, or The Powhatan, at his seat on the York River, now scarcely recognisable as Put-in Bay. In later years Smith told how his life was saved by this "Emperor's" daughter, Pocahontas. After seeing much of the people and their country he returned to Jamestown with an escort of red men laden with maize. The day of his return, Newport arrived with one hundred and twenty men; still no women. Some of the settlers helped themselves without ceremonial delays to housekeepers or wives among the squaws, encouraged to do so by the London Council. It was long before Englishmen learned that a settlement strikes but feeble root in a new country until the men have wives and children to support according to their national standards of respectability. Newport brought food, tools, seeds, and many things that were much needed, for a time

Engraved from the original as Published by CAP.^N SMITH *himself.*

CAPTAIN SMITH AND POCAHONTAS.

silencing the "growlers and croakers." The settlement was all bustle and cheerfulness till suddenly a fire swept it away. Then all fell to rebuilding. Smith took Newport to see the great chief, who then adopted his daughter's friend into his tribe, and gave him an enormous quantity of corn for some kettles and blue glass beads that mightily pleased the savage. Newport insisted on making his return cargo of some mica which he found and called gold, although Smith said it was "yellow dirt." The Company laughed at it, of course, but they were pleased with twenty turkeys, then unknown in Europe. Wingfield went back with Newport, to refute charges against himself partly by blackening Smith's name before the Council. Captain Francis Nelson, who brought more men and supplies at this time, and chose a cargo of cedar rather than Newport's "fantastical gold," took home the first book written by an Englishman in America, — Smith's *True Relation of Virginia*.

INDIAN WOMAN.
Redrawn from De Bry's *Brevis Narratio*.

With Ratcliffe for President, the second summer might have been a repetition of the first but for the "dear and blessed Pocahontas," who "of her own

good heart ever once in four or five days" appeared at the gate of the palisade with a "wild train of Indians behind her, bending down under baskets of corn and venison," which "saved many of their lives that else had starved for hunger." This summer Smith explored Chesapeake Bay, trading with many natives, including the fierce Susquehannocks, who proudly carried some French hatchets. He made a map involving geographical work, says Mr. Fiske, that could have been done by none but a man of heroic mould, a map so correct that it was used as authority in 1873 toward the settlement of the boundary dispute between the States of Virginia and Maryland. As usual, he returned to a demoralised settlement. The few sturdier ones declared that he must take charge once for all; they would endure no longer the "silly President." Under a firm hand the colony prospered; and in the autumn was somewhat fit to receive a gentlewoman, Mistress Forrest, who came with a party that raised the whole number to two hundred. She brought her maid, Ann Burras, who was soon a bride in "the first recorded English wedding on American soil." The London Council reprimanded the settlers for having accomplished so little, saying that they must remain in Virginia as banished men unless they found a survivor of the long-lost Roanoke colony, opened the passage to the South Sea, and sent home a lump of gold with the cargo that would defray the cost of this voyage, some two thousand pounds. Newport insisted on expensive journeys to these ends and on crowning

The Powhatan as under-king, subject to the Crown of England; a proceeding which the savage potentate neither liked nor quite understood, although he was delighted to accept the new red robe of royalty and present his own raccoon skin to the King of England. Newport returned with a cargo of lumber, but the most valuable things in his ship were Smith's map of Virginia, description of the country, and what he called his "Rude Answer" to the letter from the Council. Instead of a Roanoke survivor, went the deposed Ratcliffe; "poor counterfeit impostor," wrote Smith; "I have sent you him home lest the Company cut his throat."

In another bitter winter of threatened famine Smith could obtain food only by a brave and quick-witted struggle with The Powhatan and Opekankano, who had decided to let the English starve, since they seemed to have come to stay. When Smith had fed the lazy colonists, he lectured them.

"You must obey this now for a law,—*he that will not work shall not eat.*"

Thereupon they "digged and planted with maize some thirty acres, though not without murmuring." They built and repaired their settlement, till it became a town of several streets, narrow and crooked, to be sure, but lined with fifty houses, some of them two stories high, built of wood, thatched with reeds or roofed with boards or mats, all enclosed by a stout log palisade, fifteen feet high. A few other settlements were started at different places up the river.

Altogether there were five hundred colonists in a fair way to keep body and soul together by their own industry.

These log-built hamlets were so far short of the comfortable stockholders' princely air castles, fur-

THOMAS WEST, BARON DE LA WARRE.
From an old Print.

nished from Virginia's fabulous mines, that the poor gentlemen regarded the whole undertaking a failure. A few clear-sighted ones, who knew that the colony was hampered by its management, petitioned James I. for larger powers, which were granted, May, 1609, by a new charter to the "Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of

the City of London for the first colony in Virginia." The territory of the colony extended across the continent, from two hundred miles north to two hundred miles south of Point Comfort, including all the islands within one hundred miles of both coasts. The Company immediately took in many new members, including some of the richest and ablest men of the realm; besides all the strongest merchant-guilds of London in their corporate capacity. The governing power was still in the London Council, but appointed by the Company, not the King. Thomas West, third Baron de la Warre, was made life Governor. Sir Thomas Smith was still Treasurer, or general manager in London. Thanks to Wingfield, Ratcliffe, and others, Captain Smith was recalled. The day the charter was dated, a large fleet was ready to sail, with women and children as well as men. The first to arrive were Captain Ratcliffe and many "unruly gallants" who "drank deep at the tavern," and triumphed over Smith when he was forced to leave them in control—which he did, in September, 1609, not because they demanded his departure in the name of the Council, but to seek relief for a powder wound in his hand. He never saw the colony again. The Indians " no sooner understood Smith was gone but they all revolted and did spoil and murther all they encountered, answering appeals for food with mortal wounds with clubs and arrows." Thirty of the colonists stole one of the vessels to go off buccaneering. The rest saw death enter some dwelling every day, waited till he had passed by, buried the corpse, and tore

down the house for firewood. The palisades were burned; the gates hung on rusty, broken hinges.

"Hogs, hens, goats, sheep, or what lived, all was devoured—roots, and acorns, the skins of horses." "The poorer sort took up an Indian who had been killed and ate him, and so did divers, one another, boiled and stewed with roots, and herbs. This was the time which still to this day we call the Starving Time."

When at length the rest of the fleet, which had been shipwrecked, came up the river, looking for an end to their woes, they were received by about sixty ragged, starved, half-crazy men, women, and children, asking for something to devour. Lieutenant-Governor Gates and Admiral Somers took the miserable creatures aboard under military discipline, and set sail for Newfoundland, with Bermuda turtles, wild hogs, and water-fowl enough to last a fortnight. But Jamestown was not to be abandoned.

"Ship ahoy!" shouted a strange boatload of English sailors. Lord de la Warre was in the roads, bringing abundant supplies and more colonists. With full hearts the deserters put back, and re-entered the houses they would have destroyed but for Gates's orders to shoot such offenders on the spot. The next morning, which was Sunday, they drew up at the landing in haggard decorum to receive the heaven-sent visitor. No more solemn prayer ever was prayed than that which this poor company offered up while the Governor knelt before

them on the shore. "Never," says the chronicler, "had poor people more cause to thank and praise the Lord for His infinite goodness and cast themselves to His very footstool."

Lord de la Warre's poor health permitted him to stay but nine months in Virginia,—a brief term of thrift and prosperity. Vested with almost absolute powers, he bore himself as a viceroy. Every morning when the church bells rang for early service, he compelled the whole colony to attend with him. Although some murmured, they all fell into line. After prayers they formed again, and each man went to his appointed work. On Sundays and Thursdays the Governor went to full service in his robes, with the escort of the Lieutenant-Governor, Admiral, Vice-Admiral, Master of the Horse, and his entire Council, "with a guard of fifty halberd-bearers in red cloaks marching behind him,"—a brave show in the gay De la Warre livery.

The little church, which he had repaired and decorated, was a log cabin sixty feet by twenty-four, with two bells brought from England hanging in the western end. It was an uncouth structure, with hewn logs and thatched roof, supported within by rough pine columns fresh from the forests. The chancel and pews were of the beautiful Virginia cedar. The communion table was of black walnut. The baptismal font was hollowed from the trunk of a tree, as the natives made their dug-outs. In the high pulpit, reached by narrow stairs, Mr. Bucke preached the sermons. My Lord would have the chancel decorated every day with the beautiful wild

flowers of the new country. He sat in the choir in a green velvet chair, and knelt on a velvet cushion. His escort were ranged in state on his right and left; the colonists filled the body of the church. When service was over the stately procession returned as it came, and was broken up in solemn dignity at the door of the Governor's cabin. Some of the old murmurers said that the baron had "more to wait and play than work." But they were all Englishmen, inspired to respect and obedience by the sight of a representative of the King, whose rights were still regarded as divine. Long before he was obliged to leave Jamestown it was again a comfortable village. Peace was renewed with the Powhatans, who became as friendly and generous as ever; and military stations were furnished at Point Comfort, Fort Henry, and Fort Charles. Gates and Somers had been despatched for more colonists and supplies, and had not returned when De la Warre's illness forced him to hasten to England. Somers had died at the Bermudas, which he named Somers Islands. His men had taken his body to England, where they forgot their errand for the colony in glorifying their Admiral and his discovery, showing among other treasure-trove a large piece of ambergris. Yet nothing ever happened of greater importance to the First Colony. The Council petitioned James I. to include Somers's discovery in their patents to Virginia; whereupon the charter of 1612 was issued, containing clauses of vastly more importance than the addition of Somers Islands, which were soon sold to another company. The powers of govern-

ment were extended to all the members, who were licensed to meet as often as they desired, to hold four General Courts a year, and to increase their funds by a lottery, which put £30,000 into the treasury within three years, after which it was closed by Parliament.

Meantime, in 1611, Sir Thomas Dale, a famous military commander, who was sent out as High Marshal, found the colonists playing bowls in the street of Jamestown, and everything gone to rack and ruin in the two months since De la Warre's departure. Many opinions have been passed on what followed; but the only fair one seems to be that Dale commanded the rotten colony with a mingling of piety, military discipline, and good sense that lifted it once for all to a new plane. He berated Vice-Admiral Newport for bringing food "of such qualitie as hoggs refused to eat"; while he held the settlers within the lines of regular industry. After Gates arrived by way of Bermuda, with three hundred colonists of a better sort than usual, these two leaders worked happily together; removing the whole colony from malarial Jamestown to the fertile plateau of Varina far up the river, where they built a model fortified settlement which, in response to the Company's demand for cities and in honour of Prince Henry, they called the City of Henrico, or Henricus. There each servant was allowed a three-acre plot of his own, and what amounted to one month out of twelve to cultivate it. The result was, that with a personal interest in addition to better homes, climate, and soil, and greater security

against the savages, "three men did more work under the new rule than twenty did under the old."

John Rolfe, a gentleman who took up land at Henricus, probably became the first English tobacco-

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.
From an old Print.

planter in America, by experimenting to see if the finer sorts could not be grown there as profitably as in the West Indies. Although King James frowned upon the fashion of smoking introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh, and placed the "weed," as he called it, under a heavier duty than most of the

Spanish imports, Rolfe thought that if the Virginians could grow it they could sell it.

Quite a different experiment, undertaken there at the same time, was a school for the natives, opened by the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, a Puritan clergyman who never separated from the Church of England. His devotion won for him the name of the "Apostle of Virginia."

New Bermuda, a third "city," was built at the mouth of the Appomattox River, for the company Gates had brought. They made excellent use of the fifty-acre plots granted to every man who would make his own cabin and clearing. They were so prompt with quit-rents and small yearly contributions to the general granary, on assurance that the rest of the products was their own, that they not only worked out their freedom, but furnished a model which went far towards moving the Company to alter the entire government.

With all these improvements, it was long after Dale's day before the colony as a whole was much better than "a slave-gang under a merciless code, mercilessly administered." English felons sometimes chose capital punishment rather than a pardon that sent them to Virginia. It was a place offering congenial employment to such birds of prey as Samuel Argall, fisherman, trapper, and slaver in the service of Sir Thomas Smith, his kinsman. Once, when the colony needed corn, Argall entrapped "the dear and blessed Pocahontas" on board his vessel, and Dale held her in Jamestown, treating her as a princess, while he notified her

father that he might buy her ransom in corn. This the deeply offended old man would not do; nor would he come out to meet her when a special expedition was made to treat with him. Then, the story goes, Pocahontas said that as her father cared so little for her she would unite herself with her new friends by becoming the wife of the "honest and discreet" widower, John Rolfe, who "hourly heard a voice crying in his ear that he should strive to make her a Christian." Good Mr. Whitaker baptised her under the name of the Lady Rebecca, and in April, 1614, married her to Mr. Rolfe. Her uncle Opachisco gave the bride away. The Powhatan refused his presence, but gave his consent, and at length made lasting peace with the people of his daughter's adoption. Two years later they went to England with High Marshal Dale, who left George Yeardly of Henricus as a very gentle Deputy-Marshal. The Lady Rebecca was entertained at court as the daughter of an emperor. While preparing to return to Virginia she died. Rolfe came back as Secretary of the colony. Their only son, Thomas Rolfe, coming out after he grew to manhood, left descendants who founded some of the most distinguished families in Virginia, from which have been chosen presidents of the United States.

Yeardly, giving the settlers a respite from martial rule, scored the turning-point in their struggle for life by shipping Virginia's first cargo of tobacco to England. Although heavily taxed by the King and judged inferior to the quality raised in the West Indies, the little crop sold at a high price. Imme-

TOWER OF OLD CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, IN WHICH POCAHONTAS WAS MARRIED.

diately landholders and servants went wild over tobacco, even planting it in the streets. Substantial men began to go out and cultivate large estates, commonly called plantations. Tobacco was the Virginians' chief product and their currency for a century and a half. The Company and the King tried in vain to establish other industries, to compel the people to use coin, to build seaports, and to live in cities.

Samuel Argall, who had added to his kidnapping of Pocahontas many deeds of seventeenth-century prowess, including the destruction of the French settlements of Mt. Desert and Nova Scotia, was the man chosen by a faction in the Company to succeed Dale as Deputy-Governor and Admiral of Virginia. In the spring of 1617 he arrived, to set his talons deep into the colony for two years; reviving martial law to such a degree that the settlers were shot down until they numbered only about six hundred men. Even Henricus was reduced to "three old houses, a poor ruinated church, with some few poor buildings in the islande."

To fill his own purse, Argall altered the prices on tobacco and imported goods, while he punished all offences with what he called "slavery for the Company," usually labour on his own fields. But when he gave orders to a labourer on the plantation of Lord de la Warre's widow, her manager, Edward Brewster, ordered the man back. Argall condemned him to death for mutiny, but Brewster, escaping to England, laid the affair before the Company. Great scandals were exposed. A rising

party of the best men in the Company made what was called an "impertinent declaration" against Argall, Lord Rich, soon afterward the Earl of Warwick, and all the court faction that had sent him out. Although Warwick, backed by the King, led a movement of bitter retaliation, the new party secured not only the removal of "the pirate," but the appointment and knighting of George Yeardly as Governor. From that time the office carried knighthood with it.

Then, in 1618, began the last epoch in the Company's history. Sir Edwyn Sandys, distinguished for integrity and ability, with Nicholas Ferrar and the Earl of Southampton, determined on "redeeming the noble plantation of Virginia from the ruin that seems to hang over it." Thus inspired, "divers lords, knights, gentlemen, and citizens" formed themselves into auxiliary societies, each of which took up a hundred acres, and sent out planters of better intelligence than the colony had before received. Sandys opened discussion in the General Courts on securing to Virginians for ever the rights of freeborn Englishmen, by granting them a representative legislature. All England took sides on the question. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, warned the King that the Virginia courts were "but a seminary to a seditious parliament." His Majesty did his utmost to put a spoke in their wheels; but on November 13, 1618, the Liberal party committed the Company to the "Great Charter or Commissions of Priviledges, Orders, and Laws."

Matoaks als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan Emperor of Attanoughkomouck als virginia converted and bantized in the Christian faith, and wife to the wor^ly Mr Joh Rolff.

POCAHONTAS.
From an old Print.

The next spring Sir Thomas Smith was forced to resign the Treasurer's office, which he had held with almost plenary powers for nearly twelve years. He retired at swords' points with his own party and under a general cloud for neglect of the plantation and crookedness in his accounts. His former colleagues, in a moment of spite, unknowingly recompensed the colony by helping to elect his high-minded rival, Sandys, whose party controlled the Company for the next five years, till James I. destroyed the charter. During that time, says Mr. Doyle, the affairs of Virginia were administered with a degree of energy, unselfishness, and statesmanlike wisdom perhaps unparalleled in the history of corporations.

"Choose the devil if you will," said the King when the next election was in view,—"choose the devil if you will; but not Sir Edwyn Sandys!"

The six hundred colonists who survived Argall's tyranny had learned to appreciate Yeardly, before he returned, in the spring of 1619, with his wonderful news,—

"that those cruell lawes by which the ancient planters had soe long been governed were now abrogated" in favour of "those free lawes which his majesties subjects lived under in Englande"; and "that the planters might have a hande in the governing of themselves, yt was graunted that a generall assemblie should be held yearly once, whereat were to be present the governor and counsell, with two burgesses from each plantation, freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof, this assembly to have power to make and ordaine whatsoever lawes and orders

should by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistence."

The first legislative body in America met in the Jamestown Church, July 30, 1619. There were twenty-two members or "burghesses," two from each "cittie" and large plantation; some going to the capital by water in their light boats, others riding on horseback over many miles of blazed paths through the woods. The Governor and Council sat in the front seats, faced by the Speaker, the Secretary, the clerk, and the sergeant-at-arms; while the burgesses occupied the choir, wearing their hats, as if in the English House of Commons.

The report of this great meeting tells in long and complex sentences how a committee was appointed to judge if this new form of government contained anything "not perfectly squaring with the state of the colony, or any law pressing or binding too hard, because this great charter is to bind us and our heirs for ever." Satisfied on that point, the Virginia planters laid the keel of a new ship of state, partly on the instructions of the Company, partly on their own knowledge of their needs. First of all, the colony was acknowledged as under the Church and the common law of England; then or later the entail of land was fixed on the oldest son. Important regulations were made on tobacco, for raising it, shipping it, and fixing its value as the legal currency of the colony. One pound of the best quality was made equal to three shillings; of second quality, half that sum. Laws were made to compel the

cultivation of corn and to punish men who left their trades; so fiercely did the tobacco fever possess everyone in Virginia. Salaries were provided for the burgesses by a tax of a pound of tobacco on every male inhabitant over sixteen years of age. After several years the planters gave their time freely to this and almost all other public service. An act was passed to grant lands to men and their wives, "because in a new plantation it is not known whether man or woman be most necessary." Ordinances were framed for an honest, church-going, frugal, and self-reliant community; forbidding the sale of liquor and firearms to the natives and all unfair dealing toward them, while religious schools, especially for Indian boys, were recommended in all the settlements. The Assembly also sat as a civil and criminal court, which had plenty to do; for the plantations soon had an over-production of disputes as well as of tobacco.

The immediate result from this first American Assembly was that the colonists began to build substantial houses, to extend their farms as well as their tobacco fields, and to speak of Virginia as "home." Southampton said, "The hopeful country will provide estates for all younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom"; and many a young man of brains and energy, like Henry Esmond, sprung from generations of soldiers and statesmen, preferred the hardships of a self-exiled landed proprietor in Virginia to dependence on the head of his family in England. What the new commonwealth might have been without such brains and

energy and inheritance of statecraft was pictured by the first settlers.

In England the Sandys party worked like giants, " investigating and reforming the abuses by which the colony's progress had been retarded," spreading their enthusiasm throughout the realm, sending over ample supplies, as well as thousands of their countrymen and women, with skilled mechanics of other nationalities to teach new industries. Sandys himself sent over a thousand of the best sort of people who could be induced to go, including the first of many " bride emigrations " of good young women who went of their own free will, each to marry the settler who pleased her in an off-hand choice. The husband bound himself to pay one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco for her passage, a debt that came before all others.

As if in gratitude from the very soil, the tobacco crop that summer was twenty thousand pounds; the next year it was doubled. A good market was soon found in Holland, and returns began to offset the Company's enormous outlay. But an ugly feature here crept into " the action." A certain profit represented by every labourer in the fields tempted the Company to offer a bounty on all able-bodied men landed in the colony. Brutal English sea-captains made a business of kidnapping. When their victims awoke on ship-board from a drugged sleep, that had fallen upon them in some ale-house, they could do nothing but work out their passage, submit to their indenture when they landed, and serve their time. His Majesty, too, turned a pretty

penny by selling as slaves, for life mostly, one hundred "disorderly persons" from the English jails. Enterprising African slavers also seized the opportunity. Rolfe records how there "came in a Dutch man-of-Warre that sold us twenty negars" from Guinea, who were eagerly bought and put to work, while their masters discussed the great questions of whether or not the Africans had souls, and if they should be converted from their Voudoo and other heathen superstitions and baptised into the Church of England. Black slaves did not become numerous until the great rise in the price of tobacco near the close of the century.

At this same time the soul of the native was to be "uplifted"; fifteen hundred pounds were collected in England for a college, while fifteen hundred acres of land were set apart at Henricus to be cultivated by a hundred English labourers. Never had such a motley and undisciplined group of boys taken their seats as the white-skinned and red-skinned youngsters who entered the first free school in America, opened in 1620 by the devoted Whitaker. The East India School was founded the next year at Charles City, with funds raised by Patrick Copeland, chaplain of an East India ship.

The Company accepted the burgesses' laws as "judiciously carried but exceedingly intricate," confirming them by the "Great Charter, the Ordinance, and Constitution of the Treasurer, Council, and Company in England for a Council of State and General Assembly in Virginia," dated July 24, 1621. The government, whose arrangement is

indicated by the title of the Ordinance, was administered by a resident Governor, appointed by the Home Council. The Company declared,

"after the government of the colony is once well framed and settled accordingly . . . no orders of court afterwards *shall bind the said colony unless they be ratified in like manner in the General Assemblies.*"

Sir Francis Wyatt was sent as Governor, in 1621, to relieve Yeardly's failing health, and for the next half-dozen years he kept the little ship of state to her course. To establish the Church of England, the Company granted every clergyman a glebe of six hundred acres with six servants to work it, and the Assembly allowed a salary tax. Parishes were laid off at once and each placed under its own vestry, a close corporation appointed by the Company. The Surveyor of these parishes was William Claiborne, who played many parts in his time. The salaries of all the new officers were provided for by grants of land and servants; as much as fifteen hundred acres and fifty bound servants were granted to important officers, who were largely young men of noble families and devoted to the colony.

They experimented with silkworms, beehives, vineyards, and cotton-planting. Yeardly set up the first windmill and the first iron-works in America. Another started much-needed shipyards, for the bay and the rivers were the only highways, the farms and tobacco plantations extending from both shores of the bay up the James for a hundred and forty miles.

The natives retired above tide-water. When The Powhatan died his treaty was kept by his brothers Opitchapan and Opekankano. After the latter became chief, he played the devoted friend for years

GRAVE OF POWHATAN ON JAMES RIVER.

while he matured a terrible plot. On the morning of March 22, 1622, all his chiefs sent men to the different plantations to carry presents of game, and to breakfast with the unsuspecting settlers in the friendliest manner, while the tribes gathered. At

noon, on a given signal, they fell upon every settlement with fire and massacre. Out of eighty plantations less than eight were even partly saved. Nearly three hundred and fifty people were horribly murdered. The colleges were ruined. But absolute destruction was stayed by the surviving colonists, whose fury and treachery bettered their instructions.

The Company then "redoubled their courages," hastening to set "the action" once more on the highroad to prosperity; for their own days were numbered. Early in 1624 King James sent over a commission, armed with both threats and promises, to induce the Virginians to testify against their benefactors or to petition for the revocation of the charter. The Assembly did everything to the contrary, implored the King not to accept the report of Sir Thomas Smith's woful mismanagement as true under Sandys and Southampton; bluntly refused the commissioners' demand for their records, and when the clerk yielded to a bribe they put him in the pillory with a cropped ear. Vain loyalty! His Majesty found other ways to resume the charter. He took the government of the colony under the Crown, July 24, 1624.

When it fell, the Virginia Company numbered about a thousand stockholders among the best and greatest men in England. In fourteen years, spending one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and sending out not less than nine thousand colonists, it had established a permanent plantation in the New World, with a paying industry and a representative government, modelled on the British

constitution, which was not alone for Virginia, but a precedent for the colonies which should occupy the whole of England's claim in the new country.

In less than a year James I. was dead.

CHAPTER III

"THE ANCIENT AND MOST LOYAL DOMINION"

THE life of Virginia as England's first royal province in America opened with the second quarter of the seventeenth century and with the reign of Charles I. Excepting one break of eleven years under the Commonwealth, and another of nine years as the proprietary province of Lord Culpeper and Lord Arlington, Virginia was a royal dominion for a century and a half, and in that time it had fourteen governors. Not even threatening the constitution and representative government, the King in Council took the place of the Company's Home Council, and confirmed the resident powers "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there at any time within the space of five years now past." Wyatt was retained, strong as he had been for the Company; when he retired, the well-beloved Yeardly was appointed, and on his death the Council elected their long-tried military commander, Captain Francis West. After him the governor *pro tempore* was Dr. John Potts, "a Master of Arts . . . well practised in chirurgery and

physic and expert also in distilling of water [as well as] many other ingenious devises." He was too free in his use of strong waters, and also abused "the powers entrusted to him." Besides, he was once arrested for cattle-stealing; was leniently dealt with because of his being "a gentleman" and possessing professional skill that was much in demand.

Under these acting governors about five years passed comfortably, the annual tobacco export rising to five hundred thousand pounds. The King then flatteringly addressed his "trusty and well beloved Burghesses of the Grand Assembly of Virginia," with a request for a royal monopoly on all that they raised. It was granted, although "both parties haggled over their bargain with right good will."

Meanwhile his Majesty, who controlled both Governor and Council "on pleasure," as the phrase was then, arranged that in perquisites and prerogatives, besides the salary and knighthood, the office of Governor of Virginia should be a plum worth offering to minor courtiers, whom he might wish to please or get out of the way. When this fruit was ripe, in 1629, he tossed it to Sir John Harvey, a sea-captain, who for ten years amused himself placing and displacing officers, "insulting everybody, and putting the public revenues in his own pocket." He was not ill pleased to find the burgesses' hospitality strained by the arrival of Lord and Lady Baltimore and their retinue. The Virginians were alarmed, hating Roman Catholics as they did, and being jealous, moreover, of their own free government and of every acre of their fur-bearing

wilderness two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Point Comfort. Sometimes, apparently, feeling ran high, for the record says:

"March 25, 1630. Thomas Tindall to be pilloried two hours, for giving my Lord Baltimore the lie and threatening to knock him down."

As soon as Lord Baltimore left for England, he was followed by William Claiborne, then a large planter and peltry trader, as well as Secretary of the province. He did not arrive until after Baltimore had obtained a charter to part of Carolina; but setting to work at once with some Londoners who wanted to found a sugar-cane colony there, Claiborne induced the Privy Council to propose that the palatinate be planted more to the north and serve to keep the Dutch from extending their settlements. Then the enterprising Virginian obtained a royal licence for his trade, and formed a connection with a firm of London merchants. Returning to the province, he bought the Indians' title to Kent Island (the largest in Chesapeake Bay, and situated some hundred miles north of Jamestown), and to Palmer Island. He fixed trading stations on both, with a settlement on Kent large enough to send a burgess to the Assembly of 1632. On the shore of the bay the Virginians had already pushed their trading settlements into the deep woods as far as the Patuxent River. Claiborne made farther explorations toward the head of the bay. But he gained nothing by them; for, as the story of Maryland tells, Lord Baltimore's younger son, Leonard

Calvert, arrived in the winter of 1634 with a good-sized colony, to settle under his Majesty's patents giving title to a great tract beyond the Potomac, including Kent and Palmer Islands, and the best of the Chesapeake peltry trade. Governor Harvey announced that his Majesty requested the Virginians to furnish the newcomers with livestock and other necessaries at fair prices. "We 'll knock our cattle on the head first!" cried an indignant planter, and another stamped his foot, shouting "A pox upon Maryland!" Claiborne threw his whole strength into the forlorn hope of securing a revocation of the new patent. The burgesses, even the Council, supported his refusal to give up the islands, furthering his plan to manufacture a case against Baltimore and keep up the bitter warfare for the next twenty years.

Harvey's cordiality to Calvert but increased the grievances against him. When he removed Claiborne from the office of Secretary and threatened the lives of some others, the Virginians could hold back their anger no longer. The old record is,

"On the 28th of April, 1635, Sir John Harvey thrust out of his government, and Captain John West acts as Governor, till the King's pleasure known."

The King said their act amounted to "an assumption of the regal power"; and that Harvey must go back, "though to stay but a day; if he can clear himself, he shall remain longer than he otherwise would have done." Having Baltimore's aid in meeting the charges against him, he returned in 1636, to rule without an Assembly for three years.

He was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyatt, who came for the fourth time. His first Assembly passed another act of regal power, which never was questioned. For several years there had been an overproduction of tobacco, the crops being far in excess of any paying demand. To remedy the state of things resulting from this, they ordered that " no man need pay more than two-thirds of his debt during the stint," and that creditors must take forty pounds for a hundred.

After two years, when Wyatt retired for the last time, the King made the happy choice of Sir William Berkeley, who came in 1642. For about a quarter of a century (though the interval of the Commonwealth was included in his term) this typical cavalier ruled the province after the colonists' own hearts, while he carried out the royal order to " shape the country more closely than ever after the pattern of old England." This courtly, cultivated gentleman became the type of the Virginian officer and the centre of the provincial society, writing plays, and keeping open house with his Virginian bride at Greenspring, his well-furnished manor, a short distance from Jamestown.

The province then lay in eight shires, each with its sheriffs, sergeants, bailiffs, and its militia commanded by a lieutenant. The shires, named for their settlements or largest plantations, were, on the north side of the James, those of James City, Elizabeth City, Charles City, Warwick, and Henrico ; on the south, the Isle of Wight, and above it, York on York River; while the " Kingdom of

Accomac" included practically the whole of the peninsula between the Chesapeake and the Atlantic, where there were nearly a thousand people. There were about eight stockaded settlements called "cities," and perhaps twenty plantations large enough to send their own burgesses to the Assembly. The greatest estates lay mostly on the north bank of the James, usually extending back almost seventy miles. The number of both large and small plantations rapidly increased as servants "came out of their time," received their one hundred acres and began to import servants of their own. For each man whose passage was paid the master could take up fifty acres, if he cultivated three of them within the year. The climate, the soil, and all the natural conditions made it easy for the Virginians to settle into the rural life which Englishmen enjoy. Fortunes were made quickly, thanks to large tracts of cleared land left by the Indians, to the easy growth of tobacco, and to the convenient water-front, where the English ships came to the planter's door for his cargo of tobacco, bringing the family's luxuries and many of their necessities direct from London. "For some reason," says Mr. John Esten Cooke, "now unknown, the planters of the tide-water region were called 'Tuckahoes.'" Beyond this spacious residential region were scattered the great outer plantations, and farther on, through the neighbouring wilderness, were stations for the Indian trade, rough forts built of logs, with gun-holes and palisades.

In 1634, the generosity of Mr. Benjamin Sym

opened an " academy " on the Pocoson River for white and Indian boys, to take the place of that destroyed by the Indians twelve years before. Rich planters sometimes sent their sons and daughters to England to be educated or polished by society. But learning was not popular, and printing was forbidden by the Crown for many years. Poor scholars or clergymen sometimes held a sort of school or catechism class for a few months of the year in log cabins on some exhausted tobacco fields — from which these were called " old field schools." The clergy were only " such as chose to come," and there were so few of them that one cure sometimes covered more than fifty miles.

The climate and prosperity of the province attracted people from the more northerly colonies of which there were a half-dozen by this time. Many Puritans from New England had come in across the northern frontiers, and, in 1631, the Assembly passed a law that the inhabitants must conform " both in canons and constitution to the Church of England, as near as may be." Although they had had Puritans within the Church amongst them always, and had preserved many of the religious customs which the Puritans feared the Church of England would neglect, the Virginians had no sympathy with separation, and would not tolerate the settling of three Independent ministers from Boston. The Assembly passed a " malignant act " against them, which the new Governor gladly began to carry into effect.

The Puritans believed that Heaven promptly avenged them by the Indian outbreak in the spring

of 1644, when the Powhatans suddenly broke their twenty-two years' peace. Opekankano, almost blind and so feeble that he was carried in a litter, commanded an attack upon the plantations of the Pamunkey and York rivers, which was so quiet and so swift that three hundred people were killed before the news reached the capital or any defence could be made. The outbreak was quelled, and Opekankano, taken prisoner to Jamestown, was killed by an Indian for some private revenge. His people never again tried to regain their hunting-grounds. His successor agreed to retire beyond the York River, to hold his authority under the Crown of England, and to pay to the Governor of Virginia an annual tribute of twenty bear skins "at the going of the geese."

But these manifestations did not divert Berkeley from his "malignant waies" towards the Independents; he soon drove nearly four thousand who refused to conform out of Nansemond and their other settlements to the harsh tune of fine and imprisonment. At Claiborne's suggestion, they moved into Maryland, where they made as much trouble as even he could desire in revenge for the loss of Kent Island, which had been awarded to Baltimore by his Majesty's new Plantations Committee.

Meantime the rise of the English Puritans in Parliament was scarcely felt by the Virginians. The famous Plantations Committee, led by Sir Henry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, John Pym, and Sir Arthur Haselrig, offered them their own choice of Governor, but they desired no change. Upon the news that

on January 30, 1649, the Puritans had beheaded the King on the charge of treason against the people of his realm, the burgesses met in solemn awe to pass resolutions upon the murder of "the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted King," and to declare it high treason to propose a change of government or to question the right of succession of "his Majesty that now is, Charles II." Jamestown was fortified. The fugitive prince was invited to take refuge in "his Majesty's ancient and most loyal dominion." No recognition was made of the Puritan Parliament's assumption of supremacy, nor of Cromwell's rise to his uncrowned sovereignty as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. After three years, a parliamentary fleet summoned these "notorious rebels" to surrender, but upon most liberal terms, even agreeing that "the Governor and Council be free to speak well for the King, and pray for him in private houses." "The burgesses of the last country belonging to England that submitted to the Commonwealth" yielded only "to prevent the ruin and destruction of the Plantation."

Berkeley and his council quietly gave place to a special parliamentary commission, led by a new Governor, Richard Bennett, a much respected Independent whom Berkeley had driven out of the province, and by his late Majesty's warmly recommended Secretary, who had turned his coat and tricked Parliament into arming him against Maryland. They covered everything with an act of amnesty, confirmed the rights of the Assembly and

the laws as they stood. No attempt was ever made to carry out the orders to the late King's officers to sell their estates and remove from the province within a year. Berkeley was allowed to send a messenger to "the King" to explain the circumstances of the surrender. He received a renewal of his commission, signed Charles II.; and at his delightful Greenspring he entertained his loyalist friends all through the rule of the Commonwealth. While the Roundheads laid out an elaborate scheme for governing and taxing the plantations, their actual policy was one of wholesome neglect. Virginia, managed entirely by the burgesses, had free trade, universal suffrage, religious liberty, and a militia of eight thousand men.

After Bennett's term, marked by excellent judgment and absence of rancour, the next Governor was Edward Digges, who was succeeded in his turn by Samuel Matthews. The peace of that happy decade was broken only by the rising of several hundred Indians from beyond the Blue Ridge, in which the "Devil Colonel," Edward Hill, and a hundred Pamunkey braves who fought on his side, met the most humiliating defeat the Virginians ever suffered from the natives. Their tobacco exports rose to the handsome average of 1,500,000 pounds a year. The population was increased fourfold, mostly by the two widely different classes, Puritans and Cavaliers. Of Royalists there came not only penniless court hangers-on, who returned when Royalty returned to London, but also, says Mr. Cooke, an emigration

" so large and respectable in character that they speedily took the direction of social and political affairs, and planted a stock in Virginia from which have come some of the greatest names in American history."

The Virginians almost forestalled the Restoration. When Governor Matthews died, not long after Cromwell's decease shattered the English Commonwealth, the burgesses recalled Berkeley, under his commission from " Charles II.," retaining ex-Governor Bennett as Councillor, and Claiborne as Secretary. The House then passed resolutions that

" by reason of the late distractions (which God in his mercy putt a suddaine period to) there being in England noe resident and gen'll confessed power — the supreme power of the Government of this country shall be resident in the Assembly . . . until such command . . . come out of England, as shall be by the Assembly adjudged lawfull."

This was in March, 1660. Two months later Charles II. was on his father's throne. It is said that the coronation robe was made of silk raised in his " ancient and most loyal dominion."

The dominion was too loyal for its own good. The people handed over their free state to the most ardent kingsmen amongst them, crowding out all the Puritan and liberal leaders, placing themselves and their children in fetters for royal tyranny to tighten in its amusement or its anger for over a century. When the court of Charles II. put the monarchical machinery again in working order, several wheels

moved with a new bearing on the American colonists. His Majesty promptly made their affairs a separate department of state, as Cromwell had done, and commissioned thirty-four members of his Privy Council as the Council of Foreign Plantations. But what Cromwell's Parliamentary Committee had wisely left undone, the royal Plantations Committee put through without delay on his Majesty's instructions to shape matters toward combining the whole body of the colonies into an organised whole, dependent on the mother-country and contributing to her wealth. Then were enforced the Navigation Acts which hampered the colonists' commercial enterprise for over a hundred years, till they threw them off, and their allegiance with them. By these acts all trade to the colonies was forbidden, except by English vessels and Englishmen. Articles raised only in the colonies must be shipped to English ports, unless the English merchants did not want them. Then they might go to foreign ports south of Cape Finisterre. The first of the famous Corn Laws of England were made to reduce the competition of colonial agriculture with that of England, and to cut down the price of tobacco, while the colonists were still obliged to purchase everything at a high rate of exchange from English merchants.

No stiff-necked Puritan colony was so hard pushed by all of these measures as the Old Dominion. Moreover, besides great numbers of Commonwealth men, or "Oliverians," shipped here as redemptioners, under a hateful bondage for a term of years, into this beautiful country his Majesty emptied

almshouses and prisons, selling at a profit the lowest of the British population, as labourers to the planters; and, in addition to that "corner" in "white trash" the King organised the Royal African Company, that his brother, the Duke of York, might be chief recipient of the enormous profits made by stealing negroes from Africa and selling them as slaves for life to the highest bidder.

In the twenty-three years' reign of this profligate King, the Virginians settled into the characteristic life of the great and typical colony of the South; dominated by his Majesty's officers and by their own aristocratic body of rich, well-born, well-educated, horse-breeding, fox-hunting, hospitable planters, who sat in the Governor's Council and the Assembly, who were county justices of the peace and vestrymen of the parishes; for the Established Church was restored as fully as the royal government, and all "plebeian sects" banished. In their first Assembly after the Commonwealth, they not only gave the Governor and Council power to prorogue their own meetings, instead of calling for a new election, but authorised them to lay taxes and to license the Indian traders, and then made them independent of the colony by fixing upon them princely salaries out of a permanent tax on all tobacco exports. Governor Berkeley's salary was a thousand pounds sterling a year; more than the entire expenses of the Connecticut colony, and equivalent to nearly twenty thousand dollars in our times, according to the estimate that money then had five times the present purchasing power; some

say that the value of a pound was twenty times what it is to-day. The air of the little state grew thick with the venality of Charles II.'s court. Even the burgesses, who had given their services for many years, began to receive salaries, to make extravagant provisions for all sorts of public business, and to hold committee meetings at ale-houses rather than at the state house. Upon the first symptoms of dissatisfaction among the planters outside of the aristocratic inner circle, the burgesses disfranchised most of them by an act restricting the right to vote and hold office to "freeholders and housekeepers" who never had been bound to service; whereby the large and respectable body of freedmen — who also were free-born Englishmen, and often rich planters — were reduced to a separate class little better than that of the slaves. The whole province immediately began to suffer. The Assembly, laying the trouble to the navigation laws, sent Berkeley to England, magnificently provided for, to implore the repeal of the oppressive laws, and to beg for a charter to protect the Virginians in the rights promised them by James I. But the old Cavalier returned with nothing but a renewal of his own commission, although the agents of Rhode Island and Connecticut had obtained charters making their colonies almost independent states. This angered so many right-thinking Virginians that the nucleus of a people's party began to form, and planned to overthrow their own too loyal government. The scheme was discovered, however, and the day appointed for the outbreak of the rebellion

(September 13th) was made Virginia's annual thanksgiving day.

The same Assembly met for a dozen years more. Abuses increased; his Majesty, whose war with Holland filled the mouth of the Chesapeake with Dutch war-vessels, called for expensive defences, laid a new tax on trade between the colonies, and set up a custom-house with more venal officers. Then he began to grant away the quit-rents, which had fallen to the Crown when James I. resumed the Company's charter, promising to use them for the good of the province. For all the colonists knew, the first Charles had spent them on Van Dyck's portraits of his beloved children, and his son on jewels for Nelly Gwynn, until suddenly, by way of a beginning, he presented the "Northern Neck" —the great peninsula of rich outer plantations between the Rappahannock and the Potomac — to several gentlemen, who sold out to one of their number, the King's cunning and covetous friend, Thomas, Lord Culpeper. Hard upon that, in 1673, he and Lord Arlington were made proprietors of the whole province, with its forty thousand landholders, six thousand indentured white servants, and two thousand negro slaves, with its hundreds of thousands of planted acres and miles of primeval woods. For a term of thirty-one years, these unnoble noblemen were authorised to receive the revenues of the people, grant lands, and appoint all officers, including the clergy. The injury was multiplied by insult when the Proprietaries' agents arrived and a new poll-tax was laid to support

them. The people were then at the mercy of the Assembly tax, which was by poll, the county magistrates' property tax, which was sometimes heavier than the provincial rate, and the vestries' tax, which was arbitrary and often used as a weapon of personal spite. This new levy and all it presaged was more than the most loyal subjects in Christendom could meekly endure. So fair-minded a man as ex-Governor Bennett said that Berkeley had become "an enemy to every appearance of good." Even the Assembly complained; and although it required more taxes to do so, they sent the pick of their polished gentlemen to beseech his Majesty to forbear and to allow them a charter.

The King was impressed. A charter was drawn; but it never passed the seals. The people's party, which had been silently gathering strength, crushed their liberty by a rebellion that failed. The leaders were the two most prosperous and respected citizens of the little old capital of Jamestown, William Drummond, a "hard-headed and canny Scotchman," who had been Governor of Albemarle settlements (afterwards North Carolina), and Richard Lawrence, an Oxford graduate, "for wit, learning, and sobriety equalled by few," whose "house was one of the best in Jamestown." They and a good many others were ripe for rebellion when, about the time that the whole country was panic-stricken by King Philip's war in New England, the Susquehannock Indians began to burn houses and kill overseers on the outer plantations of Virginia, and Governor Berkeley refused to grant any commission

to check them. Then, in defiance of him, a body of "well-armed housekeepers" set out under a gifted young planter and Councillor, Nathaniel Bacon, and whipped the savages in the "Battle of Bloody Run," where the "Devil Colonel" Hill had been defeated twenty years before. The Governor then was forced to call for a new election of burgesses. Bacon was elected a representative by Henricus, and so great was his popularity that the new body was called Bacon's Assembly. The Governor, fearing his power among these, persuaded him, "not without much pains," to leave it and take his seat in the Council. But the burgesses numbered many others of the rising patriot party, who, no doubt, would have made Virginia almost an ideal commonwealth if their laws had been allowed to stand. They forced Berkeley to give Bacon a commission as general of a volunteer army against the Indians, but after the campaign was begun, the "brittle and peevish" old man proclaimed the popular hero and his followers rebels, and ran away to raise an army of his own in the peninsula of Accomac. Bacon was

"vexed to the heart for to think that while he was hunting Indian wolves, tigers, and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, he and those with him should be pursued with a full cry, as a more savage, or a no less ravenous beast."

With his army at Middle Plantation, half way between Jamestown and the York River, where Williamsburg was built some thirty years afterwards,

he consulted the leading men, issued a counter-proclamation against Berkeley and his "wicked and pernicious counsellors, aiders, and assistants against the commonalty in these our cruel commotions." Then, with a spark of new fire added by another Indian outbreak, he and "most of the prime gentlemen of those parts" took what was called the Oath of Middle Plantation, in which, speaking as "We, the inhabitants of Virginia," they undertook to give military aid to Bacon in resisting Berkeley. That is regarded as the beginning of the "passionate episode" known as "Bacon's Rebellion." By September of this remarkable year of 1676 Bacon had secured the plantations against further trouble with the Indians, by the method which all the colonies at length had to follow—that of

> "beating up the Indian hiding places, cutting off their stragglers, attacking them on their own ground, and driving them from point to point so as to prevent the maturing of plans, and that most fatal of all Indian tactics, the gradual creeping through the grass, and from tree to tree, until a village or farm was surrounded."

All that Bacon had gained was the cheerful choice of hanging as a rebel against Sir William or leaving the province where he was so popular, his young bride, his estates, and the rich uncle who had promised to make him his heir. Berkeley in Accomac had raised a force of about one thousand men, a few loyal Cavaliers, but most of them longshoremen, fishermen, and servants of the gentlemen in Bacon's army, to all of whom he had promised great plunder

from the estates of the rebels. With this crew he sailed back across the bay and up the river, and took possession of Jamestown. Bacon then encamped at Greenspring, the Governor's country seat, compelling the ladies of the neighbourhood — even those whose husbands were with the Governor — to pace up and down in their white aprons, so that Berkeley would not fire that way while his men dug their trenches. After the fluttering cambric had disappeared, Berkeley made a sortie, but as he was driven back at once he hastened to his boats with his rabble and sailed to Accomac, while Bacon took possession of Jamestown. After the records were placed in safe-keeping the town was burned, " that the rogues should harbour there no more." Lawrence and Drummond put torches to their own houses. Then the rebel army marched through the country, growing as it moved, to strike the final blow at Accomac. But Bacon's sudden death called a halt on the first of October. His friends mournfully laid his body in some secret grave, where no one has found it to this day. His followers tried to go on, but after repeatedly falling into the traps set for them by the cleverness of the Governor's commander, Major Robert Beverly, they disbanded, each man gloomily riding off to his home. So the uprising ended ten weeks after it began with the Oath at Middle Plantation.

Old Sir William came out of hiding, pleased to find himself master once more, took up his residence at York, opened a court-martial, confiscating property, and for nearly three months wreaking ven-

geance on the rebels till the King interfered. "As I live," cried Charles II., "the old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father!" But his Majesty said the province should have a standing army instead of a charter. Virginia received the first British soldiers in the colonies, excepting the Duke of York's garrisons in New York. They were disbanded after three years, but the charter was never granted. Lord Culpeper, who had become sole proprietor, was appointed Governor for life, and in April, 1677, sent out Lieutenant-Governor Herbert Jeffries with a royal commission to stop Berkeley's hangings on the one hand, and on the other to suppress everything published against him or in favour of the rebels; which was done so effectually that no accurate account of the uprising was known for nearly a hundred and fifty years; and to this day it is a bone of contention among historians.

Every district in the province petitioned the commission to relieve the "afflictions of the people"—the mere waste of so much good parchment, for the King's men had been sent to shear the Dominion of every vestige of liberty, even to taking possession of its records, although to secure them they had to maltreat and imprison the clerk, the brave loyalist Major Robert Beverly.

To the end of the century arrogant officers came and went in rapid succession, generally fleecing the Virginians, always at loggerheads with the Assembly. Jeffries was followed by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Chicheley, whose terms cover three years

between them. In that time the Governor took for the unwilling Virginians their first step toward union with the other colonies, at the meeting in Albany, New York (1677), for the joint treaty with the Five Nations.

In 1680, the King insisted that Lord Culpeper should govern in person and receive not only a salary of two thousand pounds, twice the usual sum, because he was a peer of the realm, but another grant to keep up his residence in a style befitting his rank. The Governor himself devised several other ways, oftener crooked than straight, to divert the planters' means into his own pocket. Still worse, the King put into his hands a general pardon for the late rebellion, to play off against orders for the Assembly to empower the Governor to naturalise their citizens, to lay a perpetual duty upon tobacco, and to provide enormous salaries for whatever officers his Majesty might choose to send them. Inasmuch as nearly all the leading families had sons in the rebellion, there was nothing to do but pass the laws. So the oldest colony lost that weapon coveted as the chief means of self-preservation by every one of the Thirteen — the right to grant the Crown officers' salaries from year to year, to cut them down, or withhold them altogether.

During one of the most serious periods of suffering, when Culpeper was on a visit to England, all other ills were increased by many seasons of overproduction in tobacco. The small planters muttering against the crops of the great, some hot-heads rushed into the large plantations and ruthlessly

cut down the young plants. That, they said, was the simplest way to prevent over-production. This high-handed act was, of course, bitterly resented by the owners. Riot was in the air when the Governor returned. Finding his own plants cut, he flew into a passion, and checked the riot by punishing the "cutters" on the gallows. Then, by way of adding fuel to the fire, he inflated the currency. The Assembly rebelled at that. Culpeper drove them out of their chamber. He demanded their records, and when Beverly refused to give them up as resolutely as he had refused the King's commissioners, the Governor imprisoned him and persecuted him almost to death. What were the people to do? The King would not listen to them. Printing was forbidden, and the proprietary Governor emphasised his opinions with a halter. After a time it suited the King and the Governor to restore the currency to its normal value, but the burgesses were deprived of their privileges to appoint their own clerk, to sit as a high court of appeal, and to carry their complaints to the King in Council. The Governor was upheld in all he chose to do, till in 1684 he returned to England. A worse man of his own stamp, Lord Howard of Effingham, came as Lieutenant-Governor.

Then the colonists stirred all England by their prayers for better usage. The Plantations Committee saw policy in stopping the clamour. Although Culpeper had not fulfilled all the conditions of his patents, they would not have expired for twenty-two years, so the King bought them in, paying a

round sum down and a handsome annuity, which Culpeper considered a good bargain. He still owned the Northern Neck.

The Old Dominion was made a royal province for the third time in July, 1684. Charles II. died the next year. His bigoted Romanist brother, James II., appointed Lord Howard of Effingham Governor for life, although he remained in the country but three years. With an energy that would have worked wonders if applied for the benefit of the province, he caused the repeal and the framing of laws, the arrangement of taxes, fees, and perquisites, even erecting a court of chancery in his own Council, where he turned many a dollar as Chancellor. He coaxed and tricked the burgesses, and bribed them as Culpeper had done. Yet some measures were still wanting to pile up the fortune he came for. Then he used threats. At that an indignant member proposed an act of resistance. It was carried; the King vetoed it. The Assembly questioned his right to do so, and was dissolved by royal proclamation. This monotony of tyranny was broken once by the beginning of a slave-insurrection, which threatened the lives of many planters but was quickly put down. A more agreeable interruption was the landing of a large company of men who had been taken with the Duke of Monmouth at Sedgmoor in the first and futile rebellion against James II. They were exiled to Virginia under bondage for ten years' service to the King, from which they were soon released by another rebellion. These sturdy men were a great addition

to the body of resistance, which was again lifting its head in the long-suffering Dominion. A new Assembly in 1688 boldly declared that they would no longer submit to the government laid upon them, making their complaint loud enough to be heard by the Privy Council, and their case so clear that James II., knowing for once when he had gone far enough, advised Effingham to enjoy the salary and honours of his office in England, while some deputy stemmed the turbulence of the planters. So the submissive Virginians braved the royal will at the height of its power, before the Revolution in England, and of course before the outbreaks in Massachusetts and New York.

CHAPTER IV

"THE RIGHTS OF FREE-BORN ENGLISHMEN"

THE planters' sky seemed but the darker, when, in 1689, they heard of the coronation of James II.'s daughter Mary and her Dutch husband and cousin, William, Prince of Orange; for not only was Lord Howard of Effingham's life-governorship confirmed and Francis Nicholson, who had been driven out of New York by "Leisler's Rebellion," sent for Lieutenant-Governor; but William III. was using the English throne to make war on Louis XIV. of France, and sorely he pressed his subjects to aid him during most of his eight years' reign. It was only through the requests commonly called "requisitions" for their quota of money and men, which they flatly refused, that the Virginians saw this conflict. It hung a mere speck on their horizon for half a century, while it broke over New York and New England, giving the world the new spectacle of civilised nations waging a war with the aid of savages. Nor would the Virginians defend their own frontier, though they lost no opportunity to assert that it extended westward to the Pacific

and north-westward to the Great Lakes. They knew that some of the fighting colonies of the North denied these pretensions and also that the French claimed for themselves the entire region drained by the Mississippi and its branches from the discoveries begun by Nicollet in 1634 and completed when La Salle explored the great river to its mouth in 1681.

Nicholson was a devoted Governor; but his name has been handed down to us hopelessly blackened by the planters' hatred, voiced by their historian and his enemy, Major Robert Beverly, and by the records of the Church which he tried to reform. Perhaps the rankest growth planted by the Restoration in this fair country was the clergy. After Lord Culpeper's day, the vestries had resumed control of their parishes, largely upon the Proprietary's methods, appointing ministers less on their merits as pastors and preachers than to give this ne'er-do-weel a roof over his head, or that black sheep a refuge from English law. Their salaries were what the people chose to give, which often left the incumbent of a large parish with so empty a stomach that he was driven to the hospitality of taverns, or even to negro cook-houses on plantations where the master's table was above him. As a physician for this diseased state the Bishop of London sent out, in the same vessel with Nicholson, the Rev. James Blair, an energetic Scotchman who was Commissary for Virginia and practically head of the Church in the province for the next fifty years. To strike at the root of the trouble by providing a college to

educate white and Indian children for the Church, he soon returned to England; and although Attorney-General Seymour said, "Damn your souls, grow tobacco," the sovereigns received him with open arms, and chartered the College of William and Mary in 1692, making over several revenues for its

SEAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

endowments, and appointing Blair president for life. This was the second "university" in the plantations, the first to educate young men for the Established Church. Harvard, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, had been opened more than fifty years before.

Nicholson drew upon his own head the enmity of every vestryman — almost every leading planter — by suggesting as a more immediate remedy that the

Assembly should provide proper support for the clergy and that he should appoint approved scholars and gentlemen; declaring that Culpeper's powers had reverted to the royal representative. Blair led the opposition, and after three years Nicholson retired, or was forced to do so.

The next Lieutenant-Governor was Sir Edmund Andros. Although hated beyond any man of his day in New York and New England, he served admirably in the Old Dominion for six years. In that time the Queen died, and William placed the colonies as a separate department of state under a new committee of the Privy Council, the famous Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Andros wrung from the Virginians a few responses to the King's requisitions, until five years of nominal peace were secured by the Treaty of Ryswick in September, 1697. He kept up the contest with the vestries, and had many a tilt with Mr. Blair, until he broke his lance trying to assert authority over the college. He dismissed Blair from the Council, and Blair had him removed from the province.

It was Nicholson who came back in the next year to hold full title and powers of Governor for seven years, with strict orders on old scores, and on the new trade laws, which forbade the export of any wool raised or manufactured in the colonies, and of any article made of or mixed with wool; all because the wool trade and industries of the mother-country must needs be protected. Of all that he did for them the people complained, except his devotion to

the college, and his removal of the seat of government from Jamestown to the wholesome and pleasant Middle Plantation, where he laid out the city of Williamsburg on the curious plan of a W and an M in honour of the sovereigns. Here a capitol and a governor's palace were built, and hither, in 1700, to celebrate the first commencement of the college, gathered the planters with their families from all parts of Virginia and the neighbouring provinces. Some came in ships or barges; some in cavalcades on their thoroughbreds, escorting the ladies in their lumbering coaches, with a retinue of negroes riding before and behind. Indians in gay blankets and feathers moved about among the breeched and powdered company. This peaceful scene was a fit tail-piece for the close of the first and troubled century and of the warlike reign of William III.

The popular twelve years' reign of Mary's sister Anne, the second daughter of James II., was hailed with "prodigious rejoicing," although her Majesty continued the management of the plantations through the Lords of Trade and reopened the northern wars by her opposition to the claim of Louis XIV. to place his grandson, Philip of Anjou, on the throne of Spain. On her Majesty's first requisitions to aid New York and New England, the burgesses begged to be excused from anything so "disagreeable to a prejudiced people"; but they became more generous after the removal of Nicholson.

In 1705, the Governor's title with three fifths of his salary was given to Lord Orkney as a sinecure,

and the province almost ran itself for five years, under the Lieutenant-Governors Edward Nott and Edmund Jenings, and also under the twelve years' term of the enlightened statesman, Sir Alexander Spotswood. This "stalwart soldier and ruler" brought the Virginians the hitherto denied right of *habeas corpus*, which they claimed as Englishmen under Magna Charta. Devoted and beloved, he spent the rest of a long and happy life in Virginia, giving freely of his time, energy, and fortune to the interests of all classes, while skilfully using his influence to carry out the royal orders. He had much trouble in inducing the close-fisted burgesses to help their neighbours, the Carolinas, in the wars of the Tuscaroras and the Yamassees.

The first "up-country." settlers or "Cohees" were some of the thirteen thousand German Palatines from the Rhine whom her Majesty rescued from the persecutions of their prince, the Elector John William of Neuburg. Blair forced the bigoted Churchmen of the Assembly to pass an act of toleration for them, and Spotswood settled them upon the Rapid Anne or Rapidan River, named for the Queen. They soon proved a valuable addition to the province, with their frugal, industrious habits and the strict morals of their Lutheran and Calvinist religion.

This smooth current of Virginian affairs was not broken by the great change in 1714, when Queen Anne's death gave the crown for another twelve years' reign to the Elector of Hanover as George I. Spotswood, as Governor for eight years under the

new King, and afterward as a private planter, was one of the fathers of the colonial post opened under an act of Anne's Parliament ordering a general post-office at New York, with routes through all the colonies, the freedom of all ferries, fixed rates of postage, and a summary process for collecting them. He quieted the Virginians' alarm at a tax for this post by Parliament without the consent of their Assembly, arguing that in no other way could a post be established for the entire country, and entering warmly into the preparations to prove the conveniences of having the Philadelphia and Boston newspapers and more certain carriage for letters than by occasional coasting vessels. This feeble service was an important link between the isolated colonies, then deeply prejudiced against each other. Later, Spotswood was Deputy-Postmaster-General for nearly ten years, working wonders in arranging the first plan whereby the post-riders reached their stations with regularity, and reducing the time of carriage between Williamsburg and Philadelphia to the wonderfully short period of eight days. Under both monarchs Spotswood was obliged to contend for the appointment of the clergy; for which Blair at length ousted him, in 1722, as he had Nicholson and Andros.

The "smiling gentleman," Hugh Drysdale, occupied the palace for the next six years, keeping his "auspicious sovereign" informed of the "general harmony and content among all ranks of persons." After him, during nearly two thirds of George II.'s long reign of thirty-four years, which began in

1727, the well-beloved William Gooch was in command. He yielded to the vestries, and the King then granted them absolute right to appoint their own clergy. Even Orkney's death in the middle of this term and the appointment of the Earl of Albemarle as titular Governor merely suggested a fine old name for a new country.

OLD STONE HOUSE, BUILT IN 1737.

This was the culmination of the remarkable half-century of Virginia's quiet growth to over 160,000 white people and 116,000 blacks. The greatest additions were in small farmers and craftsmen, who settled in villages, beginning Norfolk, Fredericksburg, and Falmouth. A company of French Huguenots, brought over by Claude Philippe de Richebourg, settled at Manakin on the upper James. Dutch Lutherans and Scotch-Irish Pres-

byterians entered the " up-country " from western New York and Pennsylvania, their clusters of well-kept farms becoming the bulwark of the western frontier, a region which is marked to this day by the " Pennsylvania Dutch " spoken there. At length towns began to grow. When printing was allowed, after a hundred and thirty years, the first number of the *Virginia Gazette*, in 1736, published an invitation to settle at what were to be called Richmond and Petersburg, both " cities in the air in places naturally intended for marts."

In the autumn of 1739, the war-cry was heard again. The quarter-century was broken by the founding of English Georgia upon the frontier of the Spaniards' Florida. The border fighting in which Oglethorpe led the forces of the Carolinas and Georgia did not affect Virginia; but his Majesty's call for men to serve under Admiral Vernon in his disastrous expedition against Cartagena deprived the colony of many of its best men.

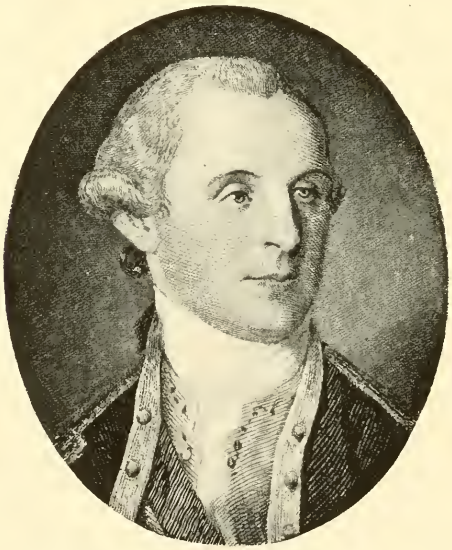
Half a dozen years later, in the cause of the Austrian Succession, the belligerent King broke the thirty years of nominal peace with France. Before the rich and happy First Colony had quite rounded its third and greatest half-century, the conflict from which it had held aloof for three generations was drawn over its borders by the flutter of a royal charter given to the Ohio Company of English and Virginia capitalists for trade and settlement in the Ohio Valley. Upon their first step into those regions the French moved down the Alleghany, making alliances with the Indians and strengthening their

communications through the whole length of the Great Woods between their two garrison colonies, Canada and Louisiana.

George II. raised another cloud, which in the fulness of time was to burst over his grandson's head. This was the adoption in 1750 of a system of colonial government by acts of the British Parliament, in which the Americans had no representation.

Robert Dinwiddie, with some ability and great obstinacy, held the trying office of the first war Governor of the province for six years, beginning in 1752. Even after he had convinced the British government that the French were in military possession of the whole continent, except the narrow strip of English settlements nowhere more than one hundred and fifty miles from the coast—even then his superiors merely called upon the colonies to help each other to keep the French out of the undoubted domain of George II., while a few guns and supplies were sent for a fort to be built at the fork of the Monongahela River, where Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, now stands. Dinwiddie was ordered to remonstrate with the French. The Virginians' common choice as the bearer of this message was George Washington, the fearless young Major-General of their militia. With Christopher Gist, "boldest of Virginian frontiersmen," and half a dozen others, he threaded the wintry woods by Indian trails to Fort Le Bœuf, only to receive the French commandant's simple reply that he was there to hold the Ohio Valley. He hastened back with the daily record he had kept of close observations

during the whole five hundred and sixty miles of the journey. This diary, which was published as soon as possible in London, startled both England and the colonies with the progress of the French occupation. Dinwiddie waited for neither King



WASHINGTON AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE.
From a steel Engraving.

nor burgesses to begin to move into the disputed valley; but in the spring a body of the French overpowered his little garrison at the Fork and immediately began to build Fort Duquesne; while a large detachment defeated young Washington (July 4, 1754) with a reinforcement at Great Meadows, where he had a rough stockade which he called

Fort Necessity. Then it was the Old Dominion's turn to see its frontier settlements ablaze from the "French Indians'" torches, to find that it had neither men nor money enough for its own defence, and to be refused or inadequately aided by other Assemblies. Meantime the King and his ministers, knowing not what to do with the colonies, abandoned them to the King's poor soldier son, the Duke of Cumberland, then the incapable Captain-General of the British army. He ordered out Major-General Edward Braddock with ten thousand regulars, while Parliament called upon the militia to act under the King's officers, a blunder which not only placed everything in charge of men who knew neither the country, the works of the enemy, nor the largest portion of their force, but so offended the provincial officers, who did know these all-important facts, that most of them refused to serve. Moreover, the terrible English mutiny law was extended to America by a hasty act of Parliament. The Assemblies were asked to raise moneys toward a general fund, which all refused to do, although their militia were ready to help Braddock drive out the French in March, 1755. A "wild and stormy March" he made it when he learned that neither a pile of money nor a body of subservient officers was awaiting his nod. He laughed aloud and rattled his sword when any one of the provincial nobodies — who scarcely knew a British regiment when he saw it!—tried to instruct him on the conditions of the country, the peculiar warfare waged by the "French Indians" who swarmed the woods;

he scorned all suggestions to use tact with the provincials; but before the army could move a mile, he found himself obliged to thank Mr. Franklin, of Pennsylvania, for means of transportation, and to send a very polite invitation to young Washington to join his own staff as a Colonel in the regulars. But he cursed that young man's impudence for suggesting that the army should break ranks and skulk along Indian fashion upon its long march through the woods of what are now Maryland and western Pennsylvania; and when on the other side of the Monongahela the General was wounded and his forces routed by a handful of French and Indians, and nothing but the provincials, fighting like the savages from behind trees, covered the retreat, Washington took command, it is said, with Braddock's dying apology in his ears.

For the next three years the Virginians had hard work to defend their frontier, while contributing their quota of men and money to the exasperating series of unsuccessful or indecisive skirmishes in the North. Washington was put in command of volunteers at Winchester, with orders "to clear and defend the Virginia Valley," but the burgesses, smarting under the demands of the ministry, seemed more bent on thwarting Dinwiddie than considering the best means of defence. They would not provide for the troops they ordered out. Their example was followed by the volunteers, who often refused to go where they were expected, sometimes refused to stay after they got there, and still more often refused to be useful if they did stay. They only

FALL OF BRADDOCK.

From a Painting by C. Schuessele.

added to the general panic caused by the enemy's overpowering the little garrisons of all the frontier block-houses, and driving the settlers like frightened sheep to the refuge of Winchester.

The burgesses hoped that Dinwiddie would be recalled when Lord Loudon came, in the summer of 1756, as titular Governor of Virginia, as well as Commander-in-Chief of the governors and the armies in the provinces. But Virginia received nothing from him but notice of the Embargo Act; which merely fostered resistance and ill-will toward the Crown.

The planters began to feel very hard times. Crops had run so short, while masters were in the war and men were on guard at home, that tobacco had risen to the value of six shillings a pound, and the Assembly issued the first paper-money in Virginia, with a decree that for ten months debts might be paid at the rate of two shillings a pound, practically a repudiation of about sixty per cent., but giving general relief. The clergy only objected, and thereby hangs a tale, told three years later to the glory of Patrick Henry.

By this time hostilities had spread to Europe, opening the Seven Years' War. Dissatisfaction was so strong in England that in June, 1757, George II. was forced to put at the virtual head of the government, with control of foreign and colonial affairs, William Pitt, a young man whose career in the House of Commons had won the confidence of both the English and American people, and given him the sobriquet of "The Great Commoner."

He promptly recalled the "procrastinating imbecile," Loudon, sent out Lord Amherst as Commander-in-Chief and titular Governor of Virginia, while Dinwiddie was displaced by the admirable Francis Fauquier. Parliament voted twelve million pounds sterling for the war expenses of that year, and such forces to go out by land and sea as England had never put in any field before; and when Pitt called on the provinces for all the men they could raise, he not only obtained the King's orders that provincial officers should rank the same as those of the regular army, but promised "proper compensation" to the Assemblies for their men's clothing and pay. Upon this the dispirited and impoverished colonists did more than was asked of them — more than anyone dreamed they were capable of doing. When Amherst arrived in the summer of 1758, after his capture of Louisbourg, there were twenty-eight thousand provincials and twenty-two thousand regulars awaiting his orders.

Washington's command of two thousand men which joined the force of General Joseph Forbes, the "Iron Head," for the capture of Fort Duquesne, attracted much attention among the heavily weighted British soldiers by their flannel hunting-shirts, their blankets, and the light outfit which had long been in common use for forest expeditions.

"Their dress shall be our pattern in this expedition," wrote Henry Bouquet, the brave and able Swiss who outshone many Englishmen as a Colonel in the regulars. "It takes very well here," he

said, "and thank God, we see nothing but shirts and blankets." This young Virginian's genius for military detail had wider audience thirty years later, when the costume and tactics of the American light infantry so impressed both French and English officers as practically to put an end to European heavy infantry.

After the army began to move toward Duquesne, in September, 1758, General Forbes, prostrated by illness, granted Washington the privilege of leading an advance with two thousand five hundred picked soldiers. But the evening before he reached the fort, the slender French garrison fired it, leaving only the ruins, which he entered November 25, 1758, and which Forbes renamed Pittsburgh. Settlers were then able to return to their homes, while the war moved northward. The Virginians helped to capture every French post as far as Lake Erie, and took part in Amherst's campaign of 1659, in which, with General Wolfe's capture of Quebec and the taking by surrender of Montreal, the long struggle was brought to a victorious end. Old King George II. was carried off by a stroke of apoplexy in October, 1760, leaving his grandson, the "very obstinate young gentleman," George III., to become master of the great conquest. But before the peace was concluded, and, most fortunately, before all the regular troops had returned to England, in May, 1763, the whole American dominion was threatened by all the tribes in the country, it was said, well organised under the Ottawa chief, Pontiac, to wipe out the English and recover their hunting-grounds. Many

of the regulars, as well as provincial troops, had taken their pay in acres of the long-disputed valley. In their haste to supplant the French, says Bancroft.*

PONTIAC, AN OTTAWA CHIEF.

the English were blind to danger; the settlers' posts were often left dependent on the Indians for supplies; they were too far apart to be of service to each other, and many of them had but the slender

* *History of the United States.*

garrison of an ensign, a sergeant, and perhaps fourteen men. Hildreth * quaintly explains further:

"The settlers were very little scrupulous in their conduct toward the Indians, who began to see and feel the danger of being soon driven to new migrations. Perhaps, too, their savage prejudices were inflamed—so at least the colonists thought — by the acts of French fur-traders who dreaded the competition of English rivals."

The colonists, being still in warlike trim, instantly crushed the outbreak all along the line. Virginia kept one thousand men in the field, and her border was harassed for three years, although the main struggle was in New England and western New York, where through the generous aid of the French officers remaining in Canada it was brought to a close in the summer of 1766.

Meantime, in the year in which this rebellion broke out, the treaty between England and France had been signed at Fontainebleau, and Pitt, who had thrown the weight of his tremendous powers toward securing the colonies against arbitrary taxation, was obliged by ill-health to withdraw from public life. Farmer George had taken the throne with a rooted idea of having his own way—of asserting the royal prerogative, as he would have called it. This he proposed to do in America as no King had ever done before, putting an end to all notions of self-government, and compelling the provision of a large and steady revenue for such

* *History of the United States of America.*

purposes as he saw fit to sanction. He notified his three millions of loyal subjects in the Thirteen Colonies that he would no longer permit "the disobedience of long time to royal instructions," adding a threat against the sitting of provincial representatives like little Houses of Parliament. Instead of "requests" to aid the Crown, they would receive general orders steadily to contribute their "proper share" to the royal treasury, out of which salaries would be paid the royal officers in the colonies, all holding their places only at his Majesty's pleasure. Even judges were no longer to be appointed for life.

To the Virginians these things were incredible. Not have an Assembly? The representative legislature was the right of Englishmen. Not have life-magistrates? Who could remember when the local officers of the province did not hold their places for life and leave it to their sons after them? The salaries were no temptation to them — by this time it was again their pride to serve without pay.

The King further declared that the colonies existed for the benefit of the mother-country, and that they should no longer be allowed to injure her by evading her customs duties. There was smuggling everywhere, even in Virginia. So his Majesty not only increased the number of the customs-officers, but gave every captain in the British navy a custom-house commission to stop and examine, and if he found cause for suspicion to seize, any merchant-ship going to the colonies, offering a large reward for the detection of offenders. Upon this last order, navy captains began chasing merchant vessels

and making arrests, on suspicion, of the innocent as well as the guilty. Their victims had no hopes of justice in the provincial courts, held by judges under the royal pleasure; even when a case of appeal was carried at great cost before the Privy Council, "the suffering colonists were exhausted by delay and expense, while the treasury supplied funds for the customs-officer!"

The next mandate raised a standing royal army of twenty battalions, to be supported and housed by the provinces in which they were placed. His Majesty "graciously" promised that England should pay for establishing the army in the first place, and that a reduction should be made in the Americans' land tax, which stood at four shillings in the pound, yielding the King over two million pounds sterling. All of this was done before the colonies had been reimbursed for the conquest which had cost them almost as much as it had enriched England. Later in the same year, however (1763), Parliament voted them almost a million and a half pounds sterling.

In that very year the Virginians had a lively struggle with the royal prerogative, when their sixty odd clergymen raised a wail over their loss from the reduction made in the value of tobacco seven years before to enable everyone to square accounts. They demanded that their salaries be paid in full, whereupon the Assembly passed an act forcing them to share the afflictions of their flocks. The ministers appealed to the King, declaring that they were not Virginians, but clergy of the diocese of London.

The King promptly declared the Assembly's act illegal, annulled it, and ordered the salaries paid in full. In December, the Rev. Mr. Maury brought suit for his claim in Hanover. The Ancient Dominion had suffered much without ceasing to cry, "Long live the King!" It was still the most loyal province in America. But it knew that George III. could no more annul an act of the Virginia Assembly than he could annul an act of Parliament. Burning with indignation and apprehension, every parish sympathised with the people of Hanover when they resolved to fight Mr. Maury's claim with the ablest lawyer they could secure. But the law was not a flourishing profession in the province, and the few able lawyers were in the pay or the fear of the King. They could find no one to plead their cause but a certain Patrick Henry, son-in-law of the tavern-keeper at the county-seat. He had read a little law, but never had had a case, nor spoken in public; and when he began to address the jury he seemed overcome by stage-fright. After a moment, however, he broke forth into the most momentous speech that ever had been heard in Virginia. Several of the clergymen left the room under his fire. He said that the King who would support such claims as theirs was a tyrant, had forfeited all claim to obedience, and, ignoring the plaintiff's cry of "treason," he declared, "the Burgesses of Virginia are the only authority which can give force to the laws for the government of this colony." The jury rendered a verdict of one penny damages to Mr. Maury; and the excited crowd carried Patrick Henry

141 PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY.

out of the court-house on their shoulders. The "Parsons' Cause" was never heard of again.

The Virginians kept a sad Christmas that year, little knowing that they had received the greatest gift a people can desire, the man for the times.

BLANDFORD CHURCH, VIRGINIA, BUILT IN 1752.

In the spring the Navigation Acts were extended to the colonists' trade in all the countries of Asia as well as of Europe; for American ships had opened a profitable business with China and India. New imposts were laid on coffee and on wines from Madeira and the Azores, while iron and lumber were added to the "enumerated articles" which the colonists could export only to England. And in the next spring (1765) the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Grenville, falsely alleging that

until the last war the provincials never had helped in any way to support an army, proposed that they be compelled to raise a fund for that purpose by buying stamps or stamped paper issued by the English government for all wills, deeds, receipts, bills, drafts, and similar documents in every-day use. Without such stamps the papers were to be void; and all offences against these taxes to fall under the Admiralty Courts, without trial by jury. Colonel Isaac Barré, who had been with Wolfe in the capture of Louisbourg and Quebec, pleaded for an application of the Golden Rule to the case of the colonists, whom the members knew but little, and whose appeals against these measures had been denied a hearing; whereupon Charles Townshend, to prove his familiarity with this subject, announced that the colonists had been vastly benefited by the recent wars, at the expense of the mother-country; and demanded: "Will these children, planted by our care, nourished to strength and opulence by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?"

"*They planted by* YOUR *care?*" interrupted Barré. "No; your oppressions planted them in America. . . . *They nourished by* YOUR *indulgence!* They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, misrepresent their actions and to prey upon them; men whose actions on

many occasions have caused the blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice; some who to my knowledge, were glad of going to a foreign country to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. *They protected by* YOUR *arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted a valour amid their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me — remember I this day told you so—the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still. . . . The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated."

This eloquent statement of the colonists' case was made to hearers who would not heed, and voted that Grenville's system should go into operation in November of the same year. They also passed the "Quartering Act," requiring the colonists to lodge the standing forces, besides supplying them with firewood, bedding, drink, soap, and candles.

When the news came to Virginia, Patrick Henry was sitting among the periwigged and powdered burgesses in the old Capitol at Williamsburg, afterwards called the Heart of the Rebellion; and in the midst of their deliberations on remonstrances and memorials, he led them to the height of their real opinions. On the blank leaf torn out of an old lawbook he presented a set of resolutions that put the whole case in a nutshell:

"That the first adventurers and settlers of this his Majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all others his Majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his Majesty's said colony, all the liberties, privileges, franchises, and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the people of Great Britain.

"That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid, are declared entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens and natural subjects to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"That the taxation of the people, by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, or the easiest method of raising them, and must themselves, be affected by every tax laid on the people, is the only security against a burthensome taxation, and the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, without which the ancient constitution cannot exist.

"That his Majesty's liege people of this his most ancient and loyal colony, have, without interruption, enjoyed the inestimable right of being governed by such laws respecting their internal polity and taxation, as are derived from their own consent, with the approbation of their sovereign or his substitute; and that the same hath never been forfeited or yielded up, but hath been constantly recognised by the kings and people of Great Britain."

A "most bloody" debate followed in opposition to such open disobedience, but with eloquence as great as his patriotism, Henry carried the vote. So Virginia "gave the signal to the continent," said

the British General Gage, writing home from Massachusetts. Not all the defiance that had been shown in some of the northerly colonies was so significant as these resolutions and the speech which put them through.

Governor Fauquier, as in duty bound, dissolved the Assembly at once, before they could receive the call of Massachusetts for a general congress; but meeting as citizens at the Raleigh Tavern, the burgesses formed associations to carry out their resolutions, and forced a resignation from the collector appointed by the King to sell the stamps.

The first of November, 1765, came and went without the use of a stamp in the colonies, the opposition growing almost as strong in England as in America. After both the King and Parliament had refused to recognise the Americans' right to petition, they were forced by some of the foremost men in the realm to hear addresses from the provincial Assemblies and the general congress of their representatives. General Conway actually offered a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was supported by Pitt, carried from his sick-bed, and passed. The Lords passed it too; but with the longest list of signatures in protest that ever had been recorded in that House; and the King signed it in March, 1766, to his lifelong regret.

The Virginians joyfully voted a statue to his gracious Majesty, and a pyramid to be marked with the names of Pitt and others who had worked for the repeal. But Thomas Mason said, "the Americans are hasty in expressing their gratitude, if the

repeal of the Stamp Act is not at least a tacit compact that Great Britain will never tax us again." No such compact was intended; and the provincials soon saw the purport of a few saving clauses for parliamentary power. Moreover, the Mutiny Act, the Quartering Act, the Navigation Acts, and all the rest remained as they had been — injurious to the rights of the provincials, draining their treasuries, restraining their manufactures and their commerce, and, last but not least, upholding the trade in negro slaves, which the Virginians were anxious to abolish. As for the repeal of the Stamp Act, Charles Townshend had already devised a new plan to raise the revenue duties on tea, glass, paper, and colours, reorganising the custom-house system by establishing a Board of Revenue Commissioners for America. These were to issue "writs of assistance," authorising custom-house officers to enter private dwellings and go to almost any length in the search for smuggled goods — a step which fanned the smouldering embers of discontent into a blaze among the people of Massachusetts. Since all this gave rise to the need of a special Secretary for the colonies, his Majesty selected Lord Hillsborough for the office. He made but little impression on the Virginians with his circular letters, warning other Assemblies to take no notice of such insubordination as was shown by Massachusetts and New York. Not only did the burgesses send cordial letters professing sympathy and readiness to co-operate with their distressed sister provinces; but such was the temper of the people that after every act of special

MARY CARY, WASHINGTON'S EARLY LOVE.

severity against any of the colonies, the Assembly was petitioned by the "freeholders" to take formal notice of an act fatal to the liberties of a free people. The burgesses voted memorials and remonstrances, repeated their claims, and ordered their own proceedings and their approval of Massachusetts' to be made known to every Assembly on the continent, together with their desire that all the colonies should unite in a firm but decent opposition to every measure which might injure their rights.

On Fauquier's death, the King's new broom swept away the sinecure of Governor of Virginia, which had been in the Crown's gift for three quarters of a century. Lord Amherst, declining the questionable enjoyment of his office, was displaced by Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, in the autumn of 1768. The people found this high-minded nobleman more kingly than the sovereign he represented, more business-like than Parliament, more intelligent than the ministry. The "respect and cordial hospitality" with which they welcomed him were not commanded by the insignia of royalty, nor by the magnificent coach and six white horses carefully provided by the King. He wrote to Hillsborough that the Virginians were candid, loyal, willing to unite with the interests of the mother-country, and in all parts of the province paying the duties they prayed to have removed. "But they will never submit to being taxed by England," he said, believing that the King, if he were well informed, would not oppose such self-respecting and obedient subjects. It was much against his own wishes that

he dissolved the Assembly in May, 1769, for repeating the declaration of rights, proclaiming it lawful and necessary for the colonies to unite in defence of their rights, and ordering their resolutions sent to all the other Assemblies, to show that the Old Dominion stood by "the Bay Horse." Dissolved as burgesses, they stepped across the street to the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern, and, as citizens, adopted the same resolutions together with an agreement, drawn up by George Mason and presented by George Washington, not to import nor purchase any English commodities, or any slaves, until their rights were confirmed. After this was signed by all the burgesses, copies were sent out for the signature of every man in the province and to the other colonies. In the spring of 1770, Botetourt called a new Assembly, joyfully announcing that he had received a private promise from the King that the tea tax would be removed. The burgesses gracefully expressed their gratitude for "information sanctified by the royal word." But summer lengthened into fall, with no action taken. In October, after barely two years in office, Botetourt died—of chagrin, it was said, that his master fell so far short of sanctity in his royal word.

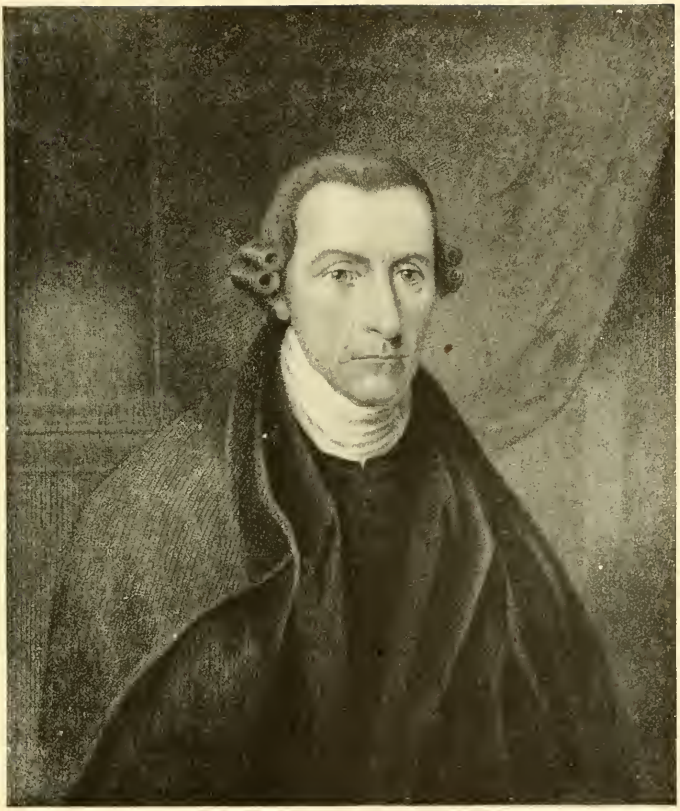
In 1772, in the midst of great agitation over the King's determination not to allow the Virginians to abolish their slave-trade, a very different sort of Governor came down from New York—John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, who in four years hastened the rebellion he was determined to crush. Parliament's strong reassertion of England's right to

transport to England and try there persons accused in the colonies of treason roused the Virginians to what proved to be the first step in the organisation of the Revolution. On March 22, 1773, a committee of distinguished men of the Assembly was appointed to obtain "the most early and authentic intelligence of affairs in England, and to maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies." Such a plan was already in operation among the counties of Massachusetts. Similar committees were chosen by the other colonies; and the general Committee of Correspondence brought all the colonists into constant communication. So union was begun. William Lee wrote from London that nothing had "struck a greater panic into the ministers" since the days of the Stamp Act. Thanks to it, all were ready and waiting when the East India Company induced Parliament to force the colonists to accept larger cargoes of tea, and the port of Boston was closed to punish the people for throwing their consignment overboard. Then the last shred of the "ancient and most loyal dominion's" submission to the divine right of kings disappeared in righteous indignation. The burgesses voted that the first of June be "set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens the civil rights of America"—a day that was kept throughout the province, the people abstaining from work and attending their churches in mourning. Tea disappeared from every table; and money and provisions were sent to "our

distressed fellow subjects of Boston." At about the same time that Massachusetts made the same proposition, the burgesses suggested that all the other colonies should send delegates to a General Congress and called for a convention of Virginians to choose and instruct such delegates, knowing full well that "both bodies were to be in every sense illegal and revolutionary."

The convention met at Williamsburg, on August 1st, and listened to the most revolutionary utterances that had yet been made by Virginians in young Thomas Jefferson's "Summary Views of the Rights of British America." Washington said, "We have proved the inefficiency of addresses to the throne and remonstrances to Parliament. I am ready to raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march at their head to the relief of Boston."

The delegates to the Congress were a representation unequalled perhaps by any other colony in that illustrious company which met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Peyton Randolph was President of the Congress; and the long silence that followed the opening prayer was broken by Patrick Henry, who expressed the spirit of all by saying, "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies. I am not a Virginian, but an American." Richard Henry Lee drew up the Articles of Association addressed to the people of the colonies, calling for their pledge neither to buy nor sell British goods until the oppressive acts of Parliament were removed, commending the people of Massachusetts



PATRICK HENRY.

for their peaceable resistance, and promising the aid of all the other colonies if force were used against them. After calling for another Congress in the following May, the delegates returned home.

Meantime, in Virginia, an Indian outbreak on the western border revealed something very near conspiracy with the savages on the part of Governor Dunmore. As commander of regular and militia forces in the province, he was so much to be feared that the planters formed local committees of safety, and enrolled as "minute-men" all who would take oath to be ready at any minute to carry out the orders of the committees. Even then they had reason to believe that Williamsburg was unsafe for the convention which was held in March at the old St. John's Church on the grassy hill just out of Richmond. While the delegates were see-sawing between the necessity for defence and the desire for peace, Patrick Henry, foreseeing the fatality of delay and again carrying everything before him, secured a vote "for embodying, arming, and disciplining the militia." He may not have used the words that his gifted biographer, William Wirt, puts into his mouth; but if he did not say, "The war is inevitable, and let it come. . . . As for me, give me liberty or give me death," he compelled the convention to take the first deliberate action toward armed resistance.

Within six weeks, the war had come. On the 18th of April, "the clash of resounding arms" was heard in Massachusetts. A few days afterwards, Lord Dunmore seized the gunpowder in the Old

Magazine, and Williamsburg, as well as Boston, was in a state of warlike excitement. Washington and Pendleton urged the people to wait for the

"OLD POWDER-HORN."

action of the next Congress, and even turned back more than six hundred minute-men who rushed out from the Rappahannock country to reclaim the stores. But Henry, making a public appeal to the

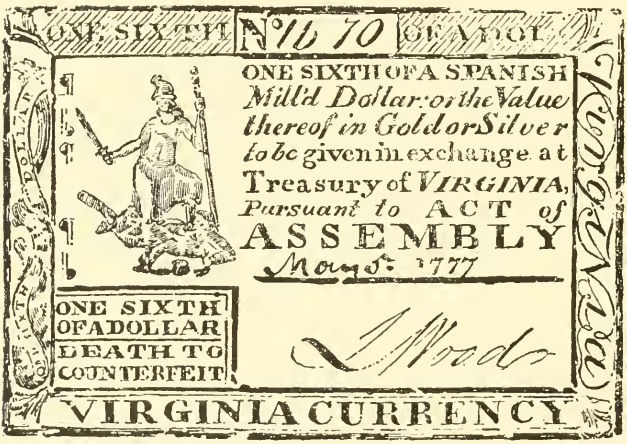
Committee of Safety of Hanover, was despatched by them to Williamsburg with a company of minute-men. As he marched through the country, planters and farmers seized their arms and ran out to join him. Before he reached the capital the Governor had fortified the palace, armed his household, and sent out an offer to pay the colony for the powder. Henry received the payment, turned it over to the delegates, and returned to Hanover; the irate Governor proclaiming him a rebel as soon as he was out of hearing.

To present Lord North's "Olive Branch," promising that England would no longer tax the colonists "if they would themselves make due appropriations for their part of the expenses of the kingdom," Dunmore called for another Assembly. For the last time, as it proved, the session was opened by royal authority on June 1, 1775; the burgesses not in broadcloth and ruffled linen, but wearing hunting-shirts such as they had worn in the French war, and carrying their rifles. The Olive Branch was turned over to a committee carefully selected beforehand, which answered through Thomas Jefferson.

"The colonies have a right to give their money as they please; other wrongs are unredressed; our country is invaded. Virginia will not treat without the concurrence of the other colonies. Nothing is to be hoped for from England, and the justice of heaven must decide the event of things."

Three days later all Williamsburg was aflame at the discovery of a plot to blow up the Old Magazine,

whose keys the Governor had delivered to the people. For the second time that summer, Lord Dunmore and his family were obliged to flee the city under the protection of his official military command. This time he did not return, but " ravaged



the banks of the rivers and committed every outrage " until midsummer of the next year, when he was driven out of the country.

The province was in the hands of a general Committee of Safety, with Edmund Pendleton as President and Patrick Henry military commander-in-chief. The boldest of them, however, hesitated to take the final step which should irrevocably break the tie with England; and it was not until the 15th of May, 1776, that Thomas Nelson presented to the convention the preamble and resolutions written by

Edmund Pendleton, directing the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose " to declare the United Colonies free and independent States."

Acting upon that, on June 7th, Richard Henry Lee moved in Congress "that these United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." While Thomas Jefferson was drawing up the formal Declaration of Independence, the Virginians, on June 15th, adopted a Declaration of Rights, drafted by George Mason, which ranks as the most remarkable paper of the epoch—the foundation of the great American assertion of rights, wherein Jefferson found phrases for the Declaration, and the model for the Constitution of the United States. Mason also drafted the Constitution which was adopted on June 29th, making the " ancient and most loyal dominion " of Great Britain " the Commonwealth of Virginia, an independent sovereignty, entitled to receive the absolute allegiance of her citizens, and prepared to defend her claim with the sword." The action made the most profound impression in Congress, which, five days later, declared the scattered English plantations of the Atlantic seaboard the United States of North America.

11

CHAPTER V

MASSACHUSETTS, SECOND COLONY—"YE NORTHERNLY MAINE LANDE"

THE Northern or Plymouth Branch of the Virginia Company chartered by James I. in 1606 was more smitten with the romantic plans of Elizabeth's time than coolly resolved — as some say the Southern Company were —on a commercial venture to rival the East India Company. Depending on their own fortunes, aided by voluntary subscription and the handsome profits of the Newfoundland fisheries, the group led by Sir Ferdinando Gorges did for the North what his great kinsman, Raleigh, did for the South; they impoverished themselves to blaze the way for others' success. Until lately, historians have declared that for twenty years they simply scored a list of costly failures; but we are now on the trail of proofs that their expeditions not only mapped and named New England, but first secured fortified possession, planted settlements, and opened up regular trade in that wonderful region, whose waters for centuries yielded Englishmen fortunes in fish, while the interior yielded fortunes

in fur and in forests of "the most magnificent white pines in the world, from which all the shipping of Europe might be supplied with masts forever."

The Plymouth Company's first exploring-ship, under Captain Henry Challong, was taken by the Spaniards. The second, furnished by Chief-Justice Sir John Popham and commanded by Martin Pring and Thomas Hanham, a patentee, made (so Gorges declared) the best exploration of the coast that had ever come into his hands; which was not saying much, although he must have known more about the country than any other man in England. The Chief-Justice's next and last effort, in the summer of 1607, made what is now reckoned as the first permanent plantation in New England—we may say in Massachusetts, since the territory was afterwards bought by the General Court, and remained a part of the colony, the province, and the state until, in 1820, it was admitted into the Union as the State of Maine. The command of this undertaking was given to Sir John's kinsman, Captain George Popham, and Raleigh Gilbert. Their pilot entered on his log:

"Sondaye beinge the 9th of August, in the morninge the most part of our holl company of both our shipes landed on his Illand, the wch we call St. George's Illand, whear the crosse standeth; and thear we heard a sermon delyvred unto us by our preacher, ggivinge God thanks for our happy aryvall into the country; and so retorned abord aggain."

This service, led by the Rev. Richard Seymour,

was, so far as we know, the first English or Protestant service in what is now New England. Although scouring the region for mines, "the main intended benefit expected," three months after the planting of Jamestown in South Virginia these wayfarers built Fort Popham or Fort St. George at the mouth of the Kennebec, on what they called the peninsula of Sabino, now in the town of Phippsburg. They also called the place Pemaquid, a name afterwards fixed upon a more easterly peninsula. They mounted their fort with twelve guns, and built a church, a storehouse, and some dwellings. During the winter the company suffered horribly from the cold; the storehouse was burned; no mines were found, and Captain Popham died. In the spring, hearing from the captain who brought them supplies that Sir John Popham was dead, part or all of the company dejectedly went back to England. Some chroniclers state that this was the end of the plantation; while others give proof that the Chief-Justice's son, Sir Francis Popham, never allowed it to be abandoned. A record shows that in 1612 he had some sort of a company under "Francis Williams . . . opposite Monhegan, . . . where no doubt his [Popham's] agents lived all the year round collecting furs"; "and many scattered settlers were living round about," giving the French cause to complain that "the English showed a desire to be masters of the country."

But if the English kept their first foothold, they did little more, except to send over fishing fleets, for almost twenty years; while the French fixed

themselves at Port Royal on the peninsula of Acadie, at Tadousac, Quebec, and Montreal along the St. Lawrence; and, claiming that Acadie extended to the Kennebec River, in 1613 the Jesuit missionaries Biard and Massé went from Port Royal to the shore of Somes's Sound on the attractive island of the Sieur de *Monts Désert* to set up fortifications, cabins, and other preparations for a colony. When this came to the ears of Captain Samuel Argall, who was in these waters on a fishing expedition from Jamestown, he attacked the devout Frenchmen, burned their buildings, stole their commission from the King of France and carried it off to Virginia, where the "human hawk" was applauded by High-Marshal Dale and sent back to prey on Port Royal, an act of aggression for which England had to make amends. Gorges and his friends had no part in these wanton outrages; but the line between the North Virginia Company and the South Virginia Company was a fine distinction which the French did not observe in the bitter rivalry which was a part, and the retaliation which was often the tragic end, of the first settlements on the northern coast, until, after a century and a half, the long war was ended by England's conquest of Canada.

About that time, North Virginia was visited by Captain John Smith, who had shaken the dust of South Virginia from his feet and offered his valuable experience and ability to the rival company. Backed, perhaps fitted out, by several merchants of London, Smith, in 1614, explored and mapped the Northern Company's seaboard. With the favour

of Prince Charles, he fixed upon it the name of New England, together with many others that time has left to the honour of the much-abused pioneer. Smith found one of Popham's ships at Pemaquid—a port his people had used for "many years," he said, monopolising the fur-trade. Nevertheless the Captain himself was able to buy for a song one thousand beaver and one hundred each of otter and marten "pelts"—much to the satisfaction of his London backers. But the greatest chance of profit he saw was in the fisheries. He wrote:

"In March, April, May and half of June, here is cod in abundance. The salvages compare the store in the sea with the hairs upon their heads, and surely there are an incredible abundance of them upon the coast. Then, too, young boies and girles, salvages or any other, be they never such idles, may twine, carry or return a fish, without either shame or any great pain. He is very idle, that is past twelve years of age, and cannot do so much, and she is very old, that cannot spin a threede to make engins to catch a fish. He is a very bad fisher, that cannot kill in one day with his hook and line one, two or three hundred cods. And is it not pretty sport to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence, as fast as you can hale and vere a line? And what sport doth yield a more pleasing content and less hurt or charge, than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet ayre from Ile to Ile over the silent streams of a calm sea? wherein the most curious may find pleasure, profit, and content."

That same year, 1614, Gorges, with the Earl of Southampton and others, sent out an expedition

MAP OF NEW ENGLAND COAST.
From Smith's *History of Virginia.*

under Captain Hobson; which returned without "any useful result neither by trade or discovery." Then Gorges and Smith united and made two attempts which failed. After that followed a fruitless visit by Richard Hawkins, then president of the Plymouth Company, and some exploring and fishing parties of Gorges. Deane says:

"There may have been other bodies of men in small numbers living on the coast, such as Gorges used to hire at large expense to spend the winter there. His servant, Richard Vines, a highly respectable man, was sent out to the coast for trade and discovery, and spent some time in the country; and he is supposed to have passed one winter, during a great plague among the Indians, perhaps that of 1616–17, at the mouth of the Saco River, where tradition has preserved the name of Winter Harbour. Vines and John Oldham afterwards had a patent for Biddeford on that river. Several scattering plantations were begun in the following year."

These fisheries soon drew six or seven hundred vessels every season. The masters made their principal stations for drying fish and other business not only at the mouth of the Kennebec, but at Monhegan Island and Smith's Isles, where there were settlements whose importance as the beginnings of New England has been somewhat overlooked. The vessels came in January and February, going back in the fall with cargoes worth £5000 each, two thirds of it often clear profit — what in our day would be equal to a net result of perhaps $35,000 a voyage. No wonder Gorges and the Plymouth

Company felt that a country with such resources would furnish the funds for its colonies.

The dream of these Churchmen was to begin their plantations at different points on " ye Northernly Maine Lande " with a chapel and a clergyman, a trading house, and a fishing station, which should encourage men to take up farms, cut timber, start other industries, and exert good influence over the great floating summer population. Then a city would be built with docks and storehouses, a capitol for the government, and a cathedral for the head of the American Church.

After the Southern Company received the second and greatest of its separate charters, in 1620, Gorges and his friends prayed James I. to do as much for them. The request sounded the tocsin to the rivalry of the Southern Company, the large anti-monopoly party then gathering force against the King's charters in general, and a great army of personal foes to Gorges and all that he and his associates represented. As Churchman and kingsman he had drawn upon his head the undying hatred of the Puritan element rapidly growing within the Church. On the other hand his side recruited Captain John Mason, a host in himself; rich, generous, clear-sighted; powerful in England as Treasurer of the Royal Navy and Military Governor of Hampshire, and experienced in the New World as Governor of Newfoundland. For two years the powerful opposition besought his Majesty to refuse a new charter, and annul the old one. But Sir Ferdinando was one of James's favourites; the anti-monopolists were among his

abominations. Moreover, somewhat frightened at the power he had given the London Council, his Majesty was anxious to cripple, or at any rate to spite, the Sandys faction, by giving other powers to their rivals. He little knew that the real colonisation of the forbidding "Northernly Maine Lande" had been entrusted by Heaven to the Separatists whom Archbishop Bancroft had driven out of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire some ten years before. In 1620, the year that these outcasts landed at what Captain John Smith had named New Plymouth, the King incorporated forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen into "The Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England in America." By this instrument New England was first officially named and laid off. The land, the waters, and the trade of the entire continent between the forty-eighth and the fortieth parallels were placed under the control of the Plymouth Council, subject to the laws of England.

Looking mainly to the fisheries for funds to carry out their plans, the Council declared their right to "take and surprise any ship cruising there without the Company's license." Then every man in the trade, from the sailors to the stockholders in their counting-rooms, cried, "Down with the New England monopoly!" The long-festering indignation against James's favouritisms broke like a thundercloud over Gorges and his Council, and "held them almost two years, so as all men were afraid to join them." Old enemies recruited new ones. They

hooted at Gorges's protestations of a desire to check "the inhuman and intollerable manners and behaviour" of "those disorderly persons" who frequented the coast for fisheries and were "worse than the very savages" they "cozen and abuse." His philanthropy was lost on shipowners whose fathers and grandfathers had made their bread, with butter enough for both sides, on the Newfoundland and North Virginia seas. He made no more impression on Sir Edward Coke, John Selden, John Pym, and the other leaders in the Commons, who placed this monopoly among the greatest grievances of the United Kingdom, and ranked Gorges among the chief enemies to their hopes of a pure Church. They called him to the bar of the House to receive his doom, as they purposed, though they said to defend his charter. Defend it he did, with such skill that he carried the day, and retired in full possession. Before another attack could be made, James dissolved the Parliament, clapped its heroes into prison, and proclaimed the disputed monopoly. In the first flush of this victory, the Council made Sir Ferdinando Governor-General of New England. But open attacks only sank into intrigue, more dangerous because less open, and so vigorous that the expenditures of time and money required of the Council for the preservation of their privileges were far greater than those actually devoted to the improvement of the new country.

Meantime, if they were shunned by subscribers and "substantial seaters," they were besieged by applicants for patents, chiefly adventurers who

desired to fish, trade, and set up stations on their own account. The ink on the new charter was scarcely dry before they began to issue grants right and left up and down their six hundred miles of Atlantic seaboard, generally throwing in the width of the continent if desired; no one dreaming that the Pacific was over two thousand miles away. To make an accurate list of these patents has been more than the most devoted scholars could accomplish. Among the first was one issued in June, 1621, to John Pierce for the Merchant Adventurers, or London partners of the Pilgrims, who, after permission was refused, had been forced by weather to land at New Plymouth. Although they were almost the last people in the world that Gorges, or any good Churchman, would have chosen for colonists, they were better than none; and the Council not only granted patents to their London partners, but afterwards gave the Pilgrims rights of their own for settlement, fishing, and trade on the Kennebec River. In the same spring of 1621, the Council gave a patent of land on Massachusetts Bay to Thomas Weston, formerly and discreditably treasurer of the Pilgrims' London partners, whose settlement gave what is now the town of Weymouth the claim to be second in that region.

Sir Ferdinando's ability being needed at home, he regretfully put off his plan to govern New England in person, sending out as Lieutenant-Governor the second of his two sons, Captain Robert Gorges, an impetuous young soldier, just returned from service in Venice. He was accompanied by two

clergymen and by a staff of officers to set up a Church government, especially designed to embrace the fugitives at New Plymouth. He also brought patents to any three hundred miles square of country he fancied and a colony, to set up a feudal barony for the Gorges family. Within one interesting year the Lieutenant-Governor and his suite were gone like the dew of the morning of colonisation, having found the stern New England shore an inhospitable place for baronies, governments, and churches. Francis West, who had come at the same time as Admiral of New England, with orders to collect fees of unlicensed fishermen, had found that he might as well try to make the fish in the sea acknowledge the Council, and went his way to Virginia. Some of the hard-handed men of these unsuccessful ventures remained, making their homes at various points on Massachusetts Bay afterwards chosen for towns.

What the Council regarded as one of their most important grants was that of Nova Scotia, in defiance of the French, to the popular Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, Viscount of Canada, and patentee of Newfoundland. To Gorges and Mason, as "prosecutors of still greater designs," were made over all "ye Maine Lande" and adjacent islands from the river of Canada to the Naumkeag or Salem River. This province, which stood for about ten years, was called Lygonia, in honor of Gorges's mother, who was Cicely Lygon. Some say it was named Laconia, from the great lake "Erocois" or Iroquois, discovered by Champlain and

named for himself, which was supposed to be reached by some, if not by all, of the noble rivers that emptied into the Gulf of Maine; but the Laconia Company was another affair. The proprietors of Lygonia gave patents to Captain David Thomson, who, in 1623, laid the first hearthstone at the mouth of the Piscataqua, one of the beginnings of what after ten years became Captain Mason's province of New Hampshire.

Other grants were to Captain Christopher Levett, his Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire and an "ancient traveller by sea," who also came over in 1623 with a company to establish an episcopal see with a cathedral, to make the great religious and commercial capital of New England in what should be called the city of York. His patent was for six thousand acres wherever he chose to locate them. With his colonists he cruised along the coast eastward from the new plantation of "Mr. Tomson of Pannaway" to Casco Bay, at length selecting the peninsula called Quack by the Indians, Falmouth by later settlers, and now the city of Portland. The Captain bought land of the sagamore for a large kettle, and so won the heart of the young savage that he offered his services as guide about the bay. The Captain wrote that he was obliged to travel with

"King, Queen, Prince, bow and arrows in my boat, his noble attendance rowing by us in their canoe. And thus, after many dangers, much labour, and great charge, I have obtained a house and fortified it in a reasonably

good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are those savage people."

The sagamore was unwilling to see the Captain leave; but he insisted that he must go to fetch his wife from England. Ten men he left for a garrison. Robert Gorges having died, Levett was made Sir Ferdinando's Lieutenant-Governor, and, under special favour of James I. and of Charles I., who took the throne in 1625, Levett threw his soul into the labours for his great city, the new York. He carried a letter from the King to the Lord President of old Yorkshire, recommending to the special interest of the ancient capital and cathedral city its namesake in the New World. But Levett died before returning to Quack. Years passed with no stone laid for his noble edifices. If his garrison held the peninsula at all, it was merely as a fishing hamlet of squalid mud-thatched cabins.

In the summer of 1623, when so much was going on between Nova Scotia and Cape Cod, the Council at Plymouth met often to discuss their "great endeavours." By an entirely new arrangement they laid off New England into twenty plots, each member drawing a share, which it was supposed he would colonise. The King was present, and there was much talk; but nothing ever came of the whole proceeding, except some complications of title for the sustenance of historical societies. Sir William Alexander, in his *Encouragement to Colonies*, described the event and its purpose, giving the names of the members on a schedule of the plots they

drew. Concerning Gorges, the Viscount of Canada wrote:

"Out of a generous desire by his example to encourage others for the advancement of so brave an enterprise he is resolved shortly to go himself in person, and to carry with him a great number well fitted for such a purpose; and many noblemen in England having interested themselves in that bounds, are to send several colonies, who may quickly make this to exceed all other plantations."

But a much greater venture was afoot among certain of the growing Puritan party, who, keeping their real purposes secret, obtained from the Council patents for fishing and fur-trading on the Massachusetts Bay. This patent was issued in 1628, overlapping a special grant to Captain John Mason and the land chosen for the Gorges barony. Here branches off the story of the powerful Bay Colony, one might almost say of the real New England—the story of the American Puritans who outdid the original patentees in settlement and trade, usurped their jurisdiction, ignored their achievements, and at length purchased their claims, whereby Massachusetts controlled New Hampshire partly and Maine wholly for nearly a century.

Before the region fell under these Puritan overlords, for almost twenty years longer, "ye Northernly Maine Lande" had its own distinct and romantic history. The next chapter was opened by the British merchants, who had long heard with itching palms of the French in Canada making such enormous profits as £30,000 a year out of peltries

brought to their settlements by Indians. When the Duke of Buckingham's zeal for the Huguenots opened war with France, the merchants saw their chance. Uniting with Gorges, Mason, and Sir William Alexander, they quickly formed what they called the Canada Company, and sent out Sir David Kirke with an armed fleet to add New France to New England; which he promptly did. By November, 1629, Kirke was back in England with cargoes of spoils, and with the French Governor, that noble prince of pioneers, the Sieur de Champlain, as his prisoner. Not only had the fortress of Quebec surrendered, but Port Royal, and the small but valuable fishermen's posts on Cape Breton. Over all these vast domains of the Roman Catholic Louis XIII. floated the standard of Charles I. of England, the head of the Anglican Church. But the Huguenots had been quelled, Charles and Louis were at peace before the good Sieur had yielded, and the first conquest was void, as were others before the day when, over a hundred and thirty years later, England made good her claim.

The conquerors swallowed their chagrin, and in that same month of November, 1629, the same merchants, with others, joined Gorges and Mason in forming the Laconia Company. Their operations were directed by Captain Walter Neil, who was also made Lieutenant-Governor of New England on Levett's death. This enterprise was a mere flash in the pan, but it served to make some important explorations, to found the settlements afterwards known as Kittery and South Berwick, Maine, and

to give a great impulse to plantations about the mouth of the Piscataqua, soon afterwards part of New Hampshire.

When Neil returned to England in midsummer of 1633, the Laconia adventurers sold out, divided their assets, and left a surplus of quarrels and litigations whose mouldy records still lie in the archives of the long-abolished Court of Requests. Gorges and Mason apportioned Lygonia. Gorges took the region north of the Piscataqua, erecting it into the province of New Somersetshire, named for his early home. Mason took the country lying between the Piscataqua and Merrimac, and adjoining a separate grant which he held to the Naumkeag, all of which he named New Hampshire. It was said long afterwards that the name Lygonia was given with patents to a large region which was visited by a colony who came out in the ship *Plough*, quarrelled with Richard Vines and among themselves, and then vanished away. A number of grants were made which produced no colonies, but confusion worse confounded when anyone tried to revive them and offer them for sale or place them under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

The Council, meantime, had been notified that Charles I. wished to resume their charter. They gave no such battle royal as did the Virginia Company when James I. determined to revoke their privileges eleven years before. After fourteen years as the North Branch of the Virginia Company, and thirteen more as the Council for New England, Gorges's associates were convinced, apparently, that

their vast dominion and powers never would be anything more than a target for their enemies. The twelve noblemen, knights and gentlemen to which the Council of forty had dwindled, met for the last time in the spring of 1635, and laid off their dominion into plots, one for each. Deeds were drawn up and signed, and wound about with much red tape for future generations to undo. Then the twelve gentlemen voted the surrender of their charter, probably congratulated each other, and went home. His Majesty declared his royal dominion over New England, appointed Sir Ferdinando Gorges Governor-General, to rule in person or by deputy, and set the legal machinery at work to undo the patents granted seven years before to the Massachusetts Bay Company.

Sir Ferdinando never saw the country. He sent his nephew and deputy, Captain William Gorges, not to flout the Massachusetts settlers, but to erect the government of New Somersetshire, with a council and body of deputies having jurisdiction from no farther south apparently than the Agamenticus to the Penobscot, over some fifteen hundred people, none probably living far east of Pemaquid — the first regular government within the limits of the Pine Tree State. The inaugural meeting was held in March, 1636, at Saco, "the most flourishing place north of Massachusetts, supposed to have then contained some one hundred and fifty inhabitants." The Deputy-Governor found life rather too real and earnest to be comfortable among the rough fishermen, sawyers, and adventurous traders who had

drifted to this coast to pick up whatever they could find, from a beaver skin to the leadership of a miniature rebellion against the unfledged government of an English aristocrat over isolated settlements. In two years he effected a fair beginning toward good order, and probably put up and furnished some creditable "Lord Proprietor's Buildings" or "Government Houses" at the mouth of the Agamenticus, a favoured piece of country, held in trust for the proprietor's baby grandson, Ferdinando Gorges.

In 1639, Charles I. gave Sir Ferdinando a new charter to a strip extending a hundred miles inland, and sixty miles along the coast, from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec, covering about one sixth of the present State. Over this, it is said, greater rights were granted to Sir Ferdinando than anyone had ever received from the Crown — even Lord Baltimore, who had founded Maryland a few years earlier. This territory was named for the first time in the grant to Gorges and Mason in 1622 as the province of Maine. The origin of the name may possibly have been in the common use of the term, "the main," to denote the mainland, as distinguished from the islands along the coast, or it may have been adopted by the King from one of the French provinces governed by the family of his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria, for whom we know Maryland had been named. Within this province were the settlements at Monhegan, the Damariscove Islands, Pemaquid, though somewhat east of the Kennebec, hamlets at the mouth of that river at Casco or Quack (afterwards Falmouth and now Portland), on

Richmond Island, at Saco, Cape Porpoise (now Kennebunkport), and Agamenticus (now York), —which, with other plantations on that river, was incorporated into a town or borough,—at Smith's Islands, and on the mainland at the mouth of the Piscataqua, where Kittery included what are now North and South Berwick and Eliot.

To institute an elaborate change of government Sir Ferdinando sent his "trusted, well-beloved cousin" Thomas Gorges. In 1640, he found everything at sixes and sevens under the sway of a fellow calling himself the Rev. George Burnet, who had been driven out of New Hampshire for a low rascal, and out of Massachusetts under suspicion, too good for him, of being a spy of Archbishop Laud. The costly Lord Proprietor's buildings at Agamenticus, Governor Thomas found dilapidated and stripped of everything "but an old pot, a pair of tongs and a couple of cob irons." So the first meeting of the government of Maine was called at Saco. It was a General Court, in which some of the leading settlers sat as councillors, and eight others as deputies of the freeholders. Sir Ferdinando divided his large domain into "eight bailiwicks or counties, and these again into sixteen several hundreds, consequently into parishes and tithings"; appointing a chancellor, a treasurer, a marshal, a master of ordnance, and a secretary. Within a year or two Agamenticus was renamed Gorgeana, and incorporated into the long-dreamt-of city, with a mayor, aldermen, common council, and a recorder,—probably officered by two thirds of the

men in the place. Governor Thomas had his hands full setting up these governments and courts of justice, getting rid of the troublesome Burnet, and encouraging the regular clergymen to open or reopen the churches and christen all the unbaptised children, to say nothing of raising their parents to an easy level of respectability. But it was not only against their God and their proprietor that these rough settlers sinned; they abused the natives of many of the great tribes that filled the forests round about them, and they did deeds meet for vengeance against any French fishermen whom the chances of wind and wave put in their way. Moreover, the green-eyed monster was on these beautiful shores, casting covetous glances at all the new powers lavished on the Lord Proprietor's earliest and most trusted settlers. There was more trouble ahead than the "well-beloved cousin" Thomas was willing to face. Perhaps he was anxious to join his kinsman on the royalist side of the Civil War, which was then raging in England. At any rate, when his commission expired in 1643 he went home as fast as sail could carry him, leaving his high office to the valued old pioneer, Richard Vines.

Meantime, George Cleve of Casco had bethought himself of the "Plough patent" to the province of Lygonia, "that enigma of New England history." In this same year of 1643, while in England, he induced Alexander Rigby, "a lawyer and Parliament man," to secure the patent, which he bought for a song, and to commission him to take possession of the territory, and govern the settlers there.

Cleve returned by way of Boston to ask the General Court of Massachusetts to aid him, claiming that the thriving settlements of Saco and Casco were under his authority. Massachusetts declined, but did not forget the proposition, and Cleve went on to flourish his claims to the title of "Deputy President of the Province of Lygonia" in the face of Richard Vines. If one could know what those hardy fellows did in the next few months in contest for first place over their fishermen's settlements! Both parties appealed to Massachusetts, and were advised to live peaceably till the matter was settled in England. They appealed also to the Puritan Parliament's new Commission for Foreign Plantations, who saw their chance for victory over Gorges at last, and decided in favour of the "lawyer and Parliament man," Rigby.

In 1646, the province of Lygonia, defined as thirty miles of coast from Cape Elizabeth to Cape Porpoise, was taken out of the centre of the province of Maine,—"a huge half-moon, his monstrous cantle out," — separating Gorges's jurisdiction into two parts; one extending on the west from Cape Porpoise to the Piscataqua; the other on the east from Casco to the Kennebec.

By this time Gorges's colonists had heard that the Roundheads had him in prison, and their General Court had ordered Richard Vines to take possession of all the Lord Proprietor's goods and chattels and pay his debts. In May of the next year he was dead, bowed with the weight of his fourscore years, the failure of his great undertakings in the New

World, and the disasters to the royal cause in England. His name has been passed down by writers of Puritan blood even to this day, shorn of bare justice due him as the godfather of New England, to which he had given the best of his long life and over £20,000 sterling — all, they say, in hopes of making a great fortune!

After two years, in 1649, the inhabitants of Wells, Gorgeana, and Kittery arranged their own government for what they still called the province of Maine, choosing for their Governor Edward Godfrey, who had been an officer in the short-lived Laconia Company.

It is easy to imagine how the hot blood must have boiled in Gorges's people as they saw Cleve of Casco set himself up with Rigby's authority over some of the best settlements that had been planted by the heroism of such men as Vines under the generous care of the poor old dead proprietor. Nor were they better pleased to see the Puritans of Massachusetts, after their party had risen to the top in England, assume parental powers over the New Plymouth Colony's territory on the Kennebec, while getting a foothold of their own by buying out a certain Thomas Purchase's share in a patent to a tract two miles broad along "the river Bishopscote," or Pejebscot, now the Androscoggin, though the French were still maintaining their claim to the Kennebec. The Massachusetts people already had thrown " the skirts of their government " over New Hampshire, and in the memorable year of 1649, when royal favourites were brought low as the head

of Charles I. fell on the scaffold, the Puritan colony extended their encroachments to Maine, on the plea that their northernmost boundary was three miles north of the farthest point touched by any tributary of the Merrimac. Submission was refused by the rich merchant ship-builders of Kittery, who "ill-liked" the "blue-nosed psalm-singers" of the Bay; but the latter easily obtained the Parliamentary Plantations Committee's order for a new survey. That being made, Kittery yielded, under a mixture of threats and inducements, and the other Gorges settlements, with the Isles of Shoals, followed suit. The inhabitants, on taking the freeman's oath, were admitted as members of the Massachusetts Company without joining one of its churches, and exempt from any military training beyond their own limits. They were allowed two delegates in the General Court at Boston, and the rights of a separate county, which was duly erected under the name of Yorkshire.

Meantime, the province of Lygonia had in Cleve a helmsman who kept the ship he had raised from the deep waters of oblivion steadily on her course, suffering no disaster when Rigby died in 1650 and his son Edward became proprietor. But two years later, for some reason, the settlements of Saco and Cape Porpoise placed themselves under Massachusetts. In 1658 the rest fell into line,—Black Point, Spurwink, Blue Point, Scarborough, Falmouth, as Casco had been named, with all the scattered farms and fishermen's and sawyers' hamlets round about. Massachusetts' jurisdiction was unchecked, if not

undisputed, for the remaining seven years of the Commonwealth in England. After the Restoration, Charles II. granted the region, lawfully held by France if by anyone, from Pemaquid to the St. Croix River, to his brother James, Duke of York, at the same time that he gave him what the Dutch held as New Netherland. In 1664, when his Royal Highness sent Lieutenant Richard Nicolls, to reduce the Dutch, he ordered also that this eastern grant, including the valuable station of Pemaquid and its dependencies, should be fortified and erected into the county of Cornwall, appended to the province of New York.

At the same time his Majesty's commission to "investigate" New England tore off "the skirts" of the Massachusetts government from New Hampshire and all the other "eastern settlements," as they were commonly called. For the latter a separate government was set up at York. Within ten years, however, the Puritans resumed their "protection," chiefly to manage the border warfare against the French Indians. Hearing that his Majesty planned to purchase the patents and make a Crown province of Maine, they were beforehand with him; in March, 1677, they bought out grandson Ferdinando's whole claim for £1250. After that they gradually extended their jurisdiction to about the limits of the State, which was not set off until after the colonists became a nation.

CHAPTER VI

NEW PLYMOUTH—THE PILGRIMS' SEVENTY YEARS' EXPERIMENT

AFTER a few of the poorly chronicled fishing stations of North Virginia, the first permanent plantation was made by a shipload of impoverished families of Independents or Separatists from the Church of England, who built their log cabins at New Plymouth in the bitter winter of 1620, knowing nothing of their countrymen on the same coast east of them. They planted the Old Colony of New Plymouth, which after seventy years also fell under the government of its younger but greater neighbour, when the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay was made a royal province.

In the *Mayflower*, in the second week of November, 1620, they were forced by bad weather to make their landfall near the "dangerous shouls and roring breakers" of the back side of Cape Cod. Anchor was cast in the roadstead of what is now Provincetown, with the full number of 102 passengers. One man had died on the voyage, and Peregrine White had been born.

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THE "MAYFLOWER" IN PLYMOUTH HARBOUR.
From the Painting by W. F Halsall, in Pilgrim Hall.

Driven out of their inheritance in England by the zeal of James I. for the Established Church, after nearly twelve years of cramped town life in Amsterdam and Leyden,— even the children working at their new crafts,— they turned to the vast wilderness of North America to live as Englishmen, not "mungrell Dutch." Their main object was to establish there a church of their own, an orthodoxy which would not tolerate any Episcopal forms—the Church of New Plymouth, mother of a new Puritanism, the Independent Church of New England, and grandmother of the great Congregational Church, which has spread from America to England, and has gradually outgrown almost all intolerance. The "Plymouth Church" came over as "the younger and stronger portion" of the Leyden Church to prepare a place for "the bulk of the congregation" and their pastor, John Robinson, "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England." Though he never beheld the promised land, he moulded the character of those who first took possession of it. By his aid, for fourteen years in Nottinghamshire and nearly a dozen years more in Holland, they had shaped their form of worship on what they conceived to be the simplest possible interpretation of the Scriptures. Their lives were austere, subject to a mutual scrutiny, and guided by religion in the smallest details. They held fast-days, thanksgiving days, and a most sacred Sabbath from sundown on Saturday to sundown on Sunday; but they observed none of the traditional holy days, not even Christmas and Easter.

Their church officers were a Pastor or Teaching Elder, a Ruling Elder who helped the Pastor, and Deacons who served at the Lord's Table, took care of the funds, and succoured the poor. Their Sabbath service was a sermon, prayer, reading from the Bible by the pastor, with a few hymns sung by the congregation—a simple "meeting" held in the "meeting-house." After a time even the word "church" was avoided. During the week a shorter service was held and a lecture delivered.

The leaders of the "First Comers" of the Leyden Church were the Ruling Elder, William Brewster, and the Deacons, John Carver, Samuel Fuller, a skilful physician, Edward Winslow, "their one born diplomatist," and William Bradford, an able and high-minded yeoman of rich family, the gifted chronicler of the plantation. A powerful friend, but not a member of their church, was the soldier, Captain Myles Standish, "small of stature, but of fiery temper, . . . a daring and intrepid spirit." These and others, whose worthiness deserves mention that space forbids, came out as "a partnership," who elected Carver for their Governor and bound themselves for seven years to another partnership of London business men, not Separatists, styled the Merchant Adventurers, who advanced most of the necessary funds.

On their nine weeks' voyage these "Pilgrims for conscience' sake" took the measure of some strangers who had come out with them, either as independent traders or in the pay of the London partners; and the serious colony planters agreed

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EDWARD WINSLOW.

that before making their settlement they should provide for its management upon their own principles. So, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, they framed this "sublime but simple constitution":

"In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and naturally in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue thereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

It was signed by forty-one heads of families, who re-elected Governor Carver for another year.

Then they went ashore; not on the northerly portion of the lands claimed by the London or South Virginia Company from whom their merchant partners had patents, but on the territory—which they had been refused—of the reconstructed Council for New England. During four tragic months while they rocked at anchor, half of the company died of scurvy, cold, and hunger, waiting for the leaders to choose a site. The prospectors scouring Cape Cod found many curious and interesting things belong-

ing to the natives — dishes, trays, bowls, mats, beautiful basket-work, but best of all a large iron ship's kettle and a hidden supply of maize, which the Pilgrims called corn. With deep gratitude they took the kettle and the corn as a loan sent by Heaven, which they repaid as soon as possible. At length a site "that would do" was found on the harbour of New Plymouth, named six years before by Captain John Smith, in honour of the English port where Sir Ferdinando Gorges was Military Governor; and from which, it so happened, the Pilgrims had taken their last leave of Old England. On the 20th of December, although the land was under deep snow, several men went ashore to begin the plantation. "The water froze on their clothes and made them . . . like coats of iron." Scarcely six men were able to work at a time. The ship's stores ran out. Fishing tackle had been left behind in England. Fruit and game were out of season. There was nothing but clams to gather, and no one fit to gather them. Yet a village was built before it was possible to land the women and children, which was not until the 21st of March. Meantime few days passed without the sight of a short file of men carrying a bier up Cole's Hill, a bluff overlooking the landing-place, where the graves of the dead were levelled in unnecessary precaution against the Indians' discovery of their diminishing numbers.

Never were warm days more welcome than those of the spring of 1621. Under the last remnants of snow the Pilgrims discovered the fragrant and beautiful arbutus, trailing over the sodden earth. This

From an old Painting on Glass.

unknown plant was to them an unexpected harbinger of the benefits longed for in the new land. They named it for the ship that brought them, the *Mayflower*. It was followed by the green of the turf, the budding trees, and by quantities of game. Soon the children came to the cabins loaded with more wild-flowers, tugging their mothers' gowns to listen to new birds, which they misnamed for others that they remembered in England.

Although the whole company were bound to do all work and to hold all possessions in common, they were divided into nineteen "families" and assigned gardens and house-lots on Leyden Street, which ran from the sea to the top of the hill, ending at an ordnance platform, to which the "Minion" and three other small cannon were removed from the *Mayflower*. The cabins were of rough hewn logs, plastered inside and out with mud mortar mixed with straw. The timber roofs were thatched with flags and bulrushes from the swamps. The chimneys were of mud and sticks or stones, gathered with difficulty on the sandy shore. The holes cut in the cabins for windows were covered with oiled paper. Gardens were sown early with barley, which yielded indifferently, and with peas which never came up. Every cabin had its noon-mark, which the good wife watched as the sun neared it, that she might have the frugal dinner ready when the Governor came in from the outer fields at the head of a file of men, each with his musket on his shoulder.

As soon as possible the settlement was sur-

rounded on the three landward sides with a log palisade, a mile in circuit, and fitted with gates in the middle of each side. On the ordnance platform at the top of the hill was built a heavily timbered, flat-roofed fort, for common storehouse, meeting-house, and refuge in case of attack. There was

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THE OLD FORT AND FIRST MEETING-HOUSE, ON BURIAL HILL, 1621.

another gun-flanked palisade enclosing the town square, where Leyden Street was crossed at right angles by Brook Street. The men, enrolled in four companies under Captain Standish, were drilled regularly and told off for nightly watches at the barred gates.

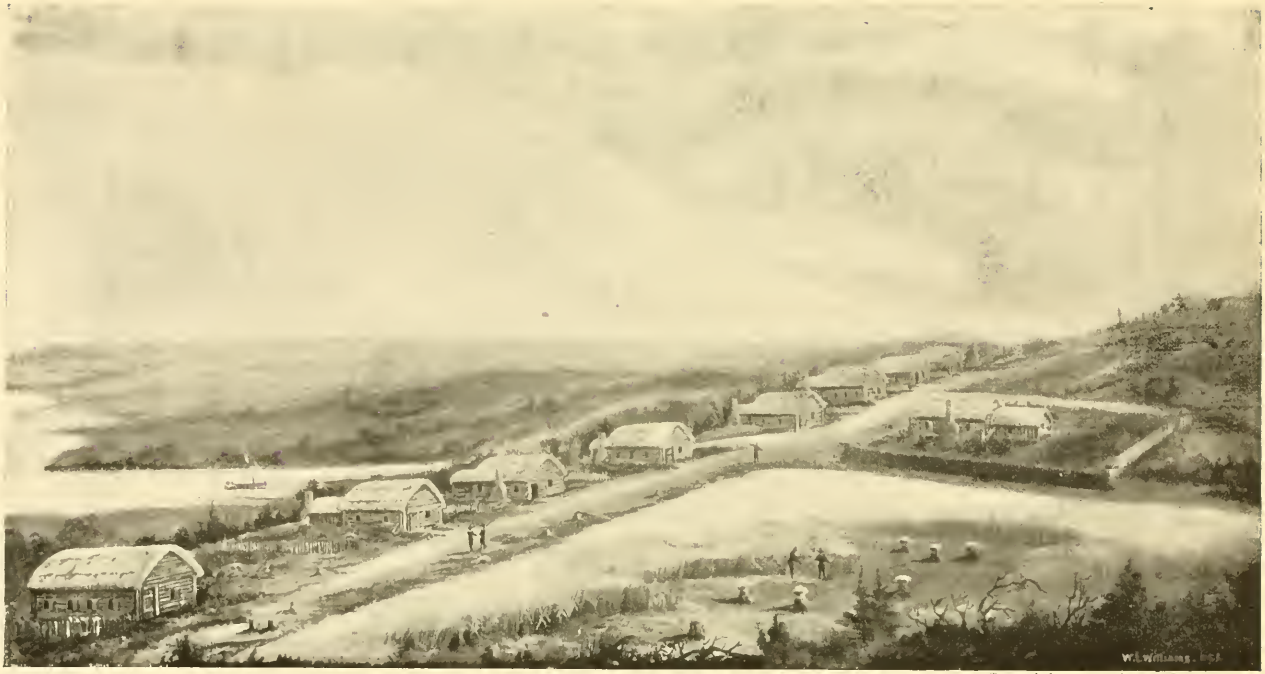
Before these defences against Indians were finished the Pilgrims learned that superstition had set a better guard over them. The legend is that a few years before, the savages of these parts had killed

some French visitors, and immediately afterwards a scourge had carried off nearly all of the tribes about the Massachusetts Bay, filling the whole country with terror for the white man's God — until these new palefaces appeared as a token that His vengeance was satisfied. So, the freezing, starving company of Pilgrims, who might have been annihilated in a few minutes, were not approached until spring. Then one day, to their amazement, a swarthy visitor greeted them in their mother-tongue with "Welcome, Englishmen." He was Samoset. Soon came Squanto, who said, in broken English, that the colonists had settled at Apaum, or Patuxet, and no one would dispute their possession, for he was the only survivor of the original owners. He had been one of twenty natives taken to England by Captain Hunt in 1614, before the plague fell on his people. Recently he had been brought back by Captain Dermer in the service of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The nearest neighbours were broken tribes of Massachusetts and Pocanokets, the largest being the Wampanoags, who lived on the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay. They were so reduced by the plague that they were in danger from their enemies, the Narragansetts, at the head of the bay. The Wampanoags' chief, Massasoit, had come with deer and other presents for the Englishmen. Some of the Pilgrims went out to him at Watson's Hill. After a great feast and exchange of gifts, he made a treaty of peace and an alliance which were kept for fifty years by the colony, by Massasoit, and by his son, Wamsutta, whom he brought to the Englishmen

to be baptised into their Christian brotherhood under the name of Alexander. He also brought his second son, Metacomet, who was christened Philip. Long afterwards, when Philip broke the treaty, Josiah Winslow wrote

"I think I can clearly say that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. . . . We first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our court. And lest they should be straightened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of the best land in the colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands."

Squanto was the Pilgrims' interpreter and guide for nearly two years, until he died of an "Indean feavor." He showed them how the natives made their food, caught eels, and set weirs in the brook for the alewives that ran in from the sea, of which a few were necessary in every hill of seed-corn, for the soil was poor. He and Habomak and others acted as pilots about the coast and among divers tribes, instructing their new friends in Indian trade and politics. The Narragansett sachem, Canonicus, soon had something to say about the Englishmen's alliance with the Wampanoags. He said it by flinging a bundle of "arrows lapped in a rattlesnake's skin" into the village—a declaration of war, Squanto said. The Pilgrims returned the skin stuffed with



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PLYMOUTH IN 1622.

bullets and powder. Then Standish made a great name for the English by disarming the red men without killing anyone, and inducing them to send nine sachems to subscribe the tribes from Charles River to Buzzard's Bay as "loyal subjects to King James."

For the colony's government these loyal outcasts, denied a charter from their sovereign, borrowed a better thing from Holland, perhaps, and set the seedling republic for the New World, on which they then grafted familiar English customs and what they knew of the common law, subject to their own interpretations of "the ancient platform of God's law." In this they cultivated a new patriotism rooted in self-government. The colony's Book of Laws was not begun until 1623, and then it covered no more than three pages for half a dozen years. None of these laws were especially severe in morals or in religion. One provided for trial by jury of "twelve honest men . . . impanelled by their oaths." When Governor Carver died, in the first spring, Bradford was chosen to his place. He was re-elected annually for twelve years, and with a few exceptions, made at his own request, for over thirty years — the rest of his life. An Assistant Governor was chosen when he was first elected. Other officers were added as they were needed. They always were the ablest and most godly men of the community, appreciating the honour of their positions, and filling them for small pay. "The Old Colony was always a strict democracy, ruling temperately and wisely, never at

loss to decide on executive and judicial questions, without precedent, without royal charter."

After the first crops were gathered, Bradford sent out a fowling party for wild turkey and other game that the colony "might in a special manner rejoice together after they had gathered the fruit of their labours." He invited Massasoit and some ninety of his people, who came, contributing a deer. For three days this Thanksgiving was held, with solemn service in the common house, with feasting and with manly sports, such as Englishmen love. This was the inauguration of the New England Thanksgiving Day, which was appointed from time to time for the acknowledgment of special benefits, and at length was fixed as the regular autumnal holiday.

But winters of cold famine still were followed by summers of burning drought. Once there was but a pint of maize for the whole colony. By equal division each person had five kernels, which were parched and eaten out of hand. The men, or such of them as were able to stand, went out for food. Some in fowling parties when game was scarce would gather ground-nuts rather than return empty-handed. Others went,

"six or seven to a gang, with a net they had bought, to take bass and such like fish. Neither did they return till they had caught something, though it were five or six days. If the boat got little, then all went to seeking of shell-fish, which at low water they digged out of the sand."

Even in the third spring, Bradford wrote:

"By the time our corn is planted our victuals are spent, not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and having neither bread or corn for nearly three months together, the want whereof much abated the flesh and strength of some and swelled others."

They were often called upon to share their scanty fare with strangers—sometimes with a mere visitor, like Isaac de Rasières, the distinguished Secretary of New Netherland, on whose advice they adopted the Indians' wampum, or shell money. His journal gives us pictures of the place and the people. Other claimants for hospitality were Admiral West, Lieutenant-Governor Gorges, and the suite he brought with him for the establishment of a feudal barony—to say nothing of the half-dozen groups of adventurers who made settlements near New Plymouth.

Weston's "rude fellows" told the famished colony of the fishermen's stations in the Gulf of Maine, whither Winslow at once set off, "in tempestuous weather," and succeeded in obtaining food, opening trade, and adding his plantation to the line of communication with the mother-country.

But even this valuable information was dear at the price of having such neighbours as Weston's "stout knaves" proved to be, in their short-lived plantation at Wessagussett. The pilgrims whipped some, hanged one for stealing corn and other "horrible vilanie," but they kept on until the savages formed a conspiracy against all the Englishmen. It was revealed by Massasoit in gratitude for Winslow's care of him when he was sick; and Standish

crushed it completely by boldly catching the leading conspirators in their own trap and killing them all.

But all the newcomers were not unwelcome. The Pilgrims gladly hailed the arrival of one group after another of their own brethren, until by 1628 all the survivors of the Leyden Church were reunited. Sometimes, as Bradford wrote,

"the best dish we could present them with is a lobster or piece of fish without bread, or anything else but a cup of fair spring water."

Although they were obliged to borrow the money, sometimes at fifty per cent. interest, the pioneers were but too happy to defray all expenses of the newcomers, to house and feed them for more than a year until they could set up for themselves; for not only could dear friends look into each other's eyes again, but their presence in New Plymouth threw the weight in numbers and in character on the side of the founders. In less than eight years the Pilgrims attained the object of their mighty undertaking.

Meantime they discovered what it took the fathers of Virginia twice as long to learn—that everyone was oppressed rather than encouraged by the common store system. Having matters in their own hands as the Virginians had not, each "family" immediately began to raise their own maize. The result was wonderful. "Even women and children . . . went into the field to work." They harvested enough to sell to the Indians, who always neglected their crops for hunting. Then the signers

of the compact, and others who had claim to equal rights, agreed that each should hold his acre, or more, permanently, whereby he became a freeholder with a vote. Cattle, which were imported after a few years, were divided also; each branding his own and turning them loose. Soon nothing was held in common but the pastures and wild land. After a time the freeholders elected five Assistants, who acted as the Governor's Council, and sat with him as an Upper House, while the freeholders sat as the Lower House. For sixteen years the legislature was "the whole body of the male inhabitants."

The records say much about the London partners. The colonists felt that the merchants used them ill because they expected the Pilgrims to keep to their agreement, and inquired about cargoes instead of offering further help. Narrowed by suffering, they saw the partnership only from their own point of view, forgetful, apparently, that the merchants—good Churchmen and kingsmen—had gone much out of their way to furnish means for the darling project of a company of poor and generally despised Englishmen, who defied the Church and whom his Majesty would not tolerate in the kingdom. The cravings of desperate want make all the world seem brutal, even when it merely minds its own affairs. The treasurer, Weston, proved a rascal, to be sure; but even he had effected the arrangements whereby the despised outcasts were enabled to set forth; and when his associates turned him out it cannot have seemed to a dispassionate observer a dreadful "vilanie" if he took out a

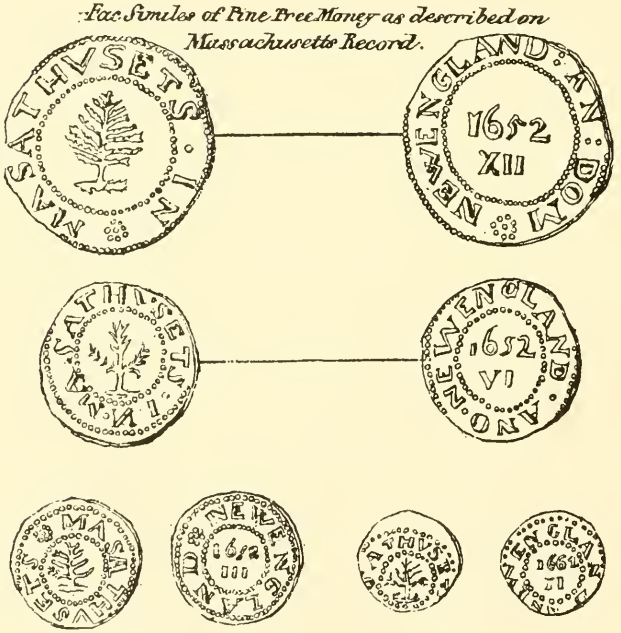
patent for himself many miles away from their settlement. The other merchants stood by them. John Pierce, as soon as he learned where they had settled, obtained for them a patent from the famous Churchmen and kingsmen, the New England Council. Another sent them a heifer to begin a stock for the poor, providing for it, so that after several years there was a large property placed under "a respectable committee."

While the Pilgrims complained of their partners, they shipped them cargo after cargo, raised by most severe industry and great enterprise in Indian trade; dreaming of getting out of debt and becoming an independent colony under their own royal charter. For that they began to sue when the death of James I. in 1625 gave the throne to his son, Charles I., only to learn that he had all his father's hatred for dissenters, as well as desires of his own respecting New England. Besides keeping someone whom the Church would tolerate in England to look after their interests, it was often necessary for Standish or another to make the tedious journey to London to secure new loans in order to obtain the necessaries of life and to make the promised payments to the partners, and also to explain why the Pilgrims had driven several men out of the colony, especially a clergyman named Lyford, sent to open an Established Church, and John Oldham, one of Gorges's valued traders. At length, in 1627, the Adventurers agreed to sell out for £1800, to be paid in nine instalments. This, with £600 of other debts, was assumed by Bradford and the other

already burdened leaders, while the whole body of the freemen bound themselves to repay it, each man according to his share. Bradford and his associates obtained a new patent in 1629, after nearly four years of expensive and delicate business with Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Council, who this time named the boundaries, both on Cape Cod and on the Kennebec—where the Pilgrims' trading post marked the site for what is now Augusta. While granting all rights of trade and government, the Council reserved the privilege of setting up at any time their own government, casting over New Plymouth a dark shadow of foreboding, labelled *General Governor*, and dreaded in the person of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In their discouragement they were on the point of accepting the Mohicans' invitation to the Connecticut Valley, when, in 1630, a new face was put on affairs by the arrival of the Great Migration of the Massachusetts Bay Company, "by which means" the Pilgrims' corn and cattle grew to a great price . . . and commodities . . . plentiful." The lonely plantation found a "lovynge neabor," who copied their form of worship and became a staunch friend, although soon showing the arrogance of greater power.

New Plymouth's palmy days were in the Thirties. Trade was extended along the coast eastward among red men and white men to all the settlements as far as the Penobscot, where the Pilgrims ventured to set up a trading post in spite of the French claims to that region — and lost it; not their only trouble with the French, either. Westward, traffic was

pushed into every profitable nook and corner all the way to the New Netherlands. The Old Colony grew to eight towns. Taunton lay twenty-five miles inland; the rest, from Yarmouth to Scituate, were scattered along the shores of Cape Cod Bay for



fifty miles; but in all there were only about twenty-five hundred souls. Among them the few who were so "prospered in their outward estates" that they lived in large and substantial houses cut no figure beside the great property-owners in Massachusetts.

As settlements spread and new towns were made, they were "tied" to the first plantation as the capital, which was the Town of Plymouth, while the colony was always New Plymouth. The General Fundamentals in 1636 provided representatives in general court instead of the whole body of the freemen, and more extensive and detailed laws to preserve the character of the colony. Then all freemen were required to be church members. Any person denying the Scriptures to be a rule of life was subject to corporal punishment at discretion of the magistrates, "so it shall not extend to life or limb." While in England there were over a hundred capital offences, the only ones the Pilgrims acknowledged were rebellion against the King, murder, and "solemn compaction," or "conversing with the devil by way of witchcraft or the like." The sentence never was passed on any crime but murder. Minor laws, too, were mild for the age. Stocks and whipping-posts stood near every meeting-house. No servant coming out of his time, nor single person, might build a dwelling, or keep house for himself till he was provided with arms and ammunition and had permission from the authorities. It was an offence punishable by fine to offer marriage without leave from the fair one's parents or master. Man or woman who "profaned the Lord's Day by travelling, carrying burdens, etc.," was fined twenty shillings, publicly whipped or set in the stocks for two hours. They were fined for neglecting Lord's Day worship, and whipped, also, for playing cards, dice, or other unlawful games at any

time. Laws provided for preaching the Gospel to the natives, and "admitting Indian preachers among them, etc.," to improve them " in civility and Christianity."

The successful colonisation and trade of the Dutch and French was taken much to heart by both this colony and Massachusetts. In 1635, they sent Winslow to England to ask the King's permission and help to resist these " foreign encroachments." Bradford recorded that he was at the point of success before the Lords Commissioners of Plantations when Archbishop Laud interposed with questions as of Mr. Winslow's " teaching in the church publicly " and " then about marriage " ceremonies which he had performed as a civil magistrate. Winslow defended himself.

" But in the end . . . he was committed to the Fleet, and lay there seventeen weeks or thereabouts before he could get to be released. And this was the end of this petition and this business."

After thirty-five years the colonists' debt was paid, and, with certain reservations for the " Purchasers or Old Comers," Bradford and his partners made over the patents to the freemen of the Corporation of New Plymouth.

This was done in 1641, the year in which the Puritan Colonies of New England formed the Confederation, in which for forty years, until the end of her separate government, New Plymouth was a small figure, although often the most prompt and

THE FIRST MEETING-HOUSE, 1634-39.

brave in danger. Already the Old Colony had begun to decline. Although the capital was but twenty-five years old, in 1646 it was regarded as a special providence when Captain Thomas Cromwell was forced for a fortnight into the shelter of the harbour with his three ships of war and several Spanish prizes. His sailors were drunken and riotous, but "they spent liberally and gave freely to the poorer sort."

The old chronicle says:

"Many have left the place by reason of the straightness and barrenness of the same and their finding better accommodations elsewhere. . . . And thus was this poor church left like an ancient mother . . . forsaken of her children, though not in their affections."

But the pure church of the Pilgrims could not hold the children for whose sakes the migration had been made. The second generation were barely grown to manhood before "an alarming defect of reverence and support of ministers were spreading . . . and schisms in the churches were not infrequent; five distinguished ministers were obliged to separate from their societies for want of support; and altogether ten parishes were without ministers." When the Quaker "prophets" first arrived with their insolent abuse," telling Governor Prince that he lied, and saying "John Alden is to thee like unto a pack-horse, where upon thou layest thy beastly bag," they were driven out by fines, whipping, imprisonment, and banishment. A death penalty

ordered here was never executed. Indeed, when the New Plymouth people saw how bravely it was endured by the "ranting insulters" who sought to reform the Bay Colony, they "could not resist belief that they were sincere." Many of the Old Colony became self-convicted, and the doctrines were "widely adopted in certain localities with only good results."

On the Restoration of Charles II., the colony again dreamed of a royal charter; but declined it when offered with a governor appointed by the Crown from three candidates named by themselves. They received his Majesty's commissioners so cordially, however, that the King sent them a letter promising that "this your loyal and dutiful behaviour" should redound "to your advantage" with "our constant protection." It was only a mirage. The rest of the plantation's threescore years and ten were labour and sorrow, although the leading body were generous, intelligent, brave beyond average; and the setters of good example to the last. In 1671, they opened at Plymouth the first free school in New England ordained by law, which was for boys, of course, and maintained by a grant of all the colony's profits "as might annually accrue . . . for fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod, for mackerel, bass, or herrings."

In the summer of 1675, the town of Swansea was burned by Indians. This was the beginning of fourteen months of the heaviest Indian troubles in New England, instigated by old Massasoit's son, Metacomet, whom Englishmen called King Philip.

After he became sachem of the Wampanoags, he had plotted and collected guns for twelve years before his plan to kill all the English in the country was ripened by the alliance of most of the New England tribes. It is a familiar tale how they devastated nearly every town in New Plymouth and many in Massachusetts until Philip was killed. His escaping braves then fled to the eastern tribes and kept Maine and New Hampshire aflame for two years and a half longer. Under the direction of the Federal commissioners the colonists, who outnumbered the savages four to one, fought desperately, and at length were completely victorious. They received little aid from the "praying Indians" of Mayhew's settlements on Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard or in Massachusetts. New Plymouth's force was commanded by Captain Benjamin Church, who some forty years later dictated to his grandson the full story of the war, describing the savages' courage, their skill at disguise and concealment, and other virtues often denied them. He tells how much the colonists had to learn before they could find their enemies, to say nothing of overcoming them. This colony, like Massachusetts and unlike Connecticut, dealt harshly with the conquered, and sold Philip's son, with many others, into slavery in the West Indies.

The decaying plantation never recovered from the war. The usual taxes were more than doubled; the total war debt, £3700—amounting to more than the valuation of all the personal property—the people paid after "years of steady industry and

pinching frugality." But soon another blow threw them under James II.'s Dominion of New England; and after that brief despotism fell in the rebellion of 1688, the new sovereigns William and Mary incorporated the Old Colony into their royal province of Massachusetts.

"The final act of the Plymouth Court was the appointment of the last Wednesday of August, 1692, as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation previous to their extinction as a state."

CHAPTER VII

"THE BAY HORSE"

THE bay which the Indians probably named for the Massawachusett or Great Hill (of Milton) behind it was settled by some fifty English people in half a dozen places when the name was taken, with the surrounding country, for the greatest colony of New England — often called "the Bay Horse," and said to "set the pace" for all the others.

Beginning at the southern end of the irregular semicircle of settlements, next to New Plymouth was Wessagusset, now Weymouth, where a trading colony was established by their London partners' former treasurer, Thomas Weston — composed of "rude fellows" and "men made choise of at all adventure." After they were driven out by fear of the Indians they had wronged, their block-house and cabins were taken by Lieutenant-Governor Robert Gorges for the family barony that was never set up. Soon after the failure of that undertaking, a Captain Wollaston from England with a company of adventurers and about forty servants took up their

residence near Wessagusset, at what the Indians called Passonagesset, and the Englishmen, Mt. Wollaston—now a part of Quincy. After one bleak winter that settlement was saved from entire dismemberment by a certain Thomas Morton, who wrote the *New England Canaan*. He loved Merrymount, or Mare-Mount, as he called the place, and delighted in the free out-of-door life of the forest; but, with his May-pole dances for the squaws, and guns and liquor for the braves, he so alarmed the other settlers that they joined their scanty forces, and, after much difficulty, made him prisoner, with most of his "crew." Meantime Captain David Thomson had left the Piscataqua, and settled his family, probably with a number of servants, on the island still bearing his name,—"spelt with a p." His nearest neighbours were at the "uncoth place" called by the Indians Nantasket, where three men from no one knows where made "something like a habitation," claimed as the beginning of Hull. Thither went Gorges's famous trader, John Oldham, and the London Adventurers' "disreputable, broken-down clergyman," John Lyford, who, for stirring up discontent and misbehaving themselves generally, were twice turned out of New Plymouth. The second time Oldham was banished

"after a solemne invention in this manner: A lane of Musketiers was made, and hee compelled in scorne to passe along betweene, and to receave a bob upon the bumme by every musketier and then aboard a shallop, and so convayed to Wessaguscus shoare . . . to whom

Iohn Layford and some few more did resort, where Master Layford freely executed his office and preached every Lord's day, and yet maintained his wife and children foure or five, upon his industry there."

Shawmut peninsula was occupied by William Blackstone (or Blaxton), who had been sent out with Lieutenant-Governor Gorges to use his influence as a " clerk in Holy Orders " for the Church of England at New Plymouth, but who seems never to have done so; and after a time to have gone to live by himself on what is now a part of Beacon Hill, Boston. Near the mouth of the Mystic, at Mishawum, now Charlestown, Thomas Walford, a blacksmith of the same Gorges company, built " an English palisadoed and thatched house." At Winnesimmet, now Chelsea, lived perhaps the only gentleman of the abandoned barony who did not return to England with young Gorges. He was Samuel Maverick, a youth of twenty-two, who had his wife with him and built

" a house which thirty-five years later was still standing, the ' ancientest house in the Massachusetts government.' The following year he fortified this house with ' a Pillizado and fflankers and gunnes, both belowe and above in them, which awed the Indians, who at that time had a mind to cut off the English. They once faced it, but receiving a repulse, never attempted it more.' This strong house . . . probably served also as the common trading station."

It has been confused with another on Noddle's Island, now East Boston, which was bought by

Maverick. His place was known far and wide for the "very loving and courteous" hospitality enjoyed there for twenty-five years by nearly every distinguished visitor to New England; until the persecutions of the Puritans fell upon the liberal-minded and open-handed host.

The last settlements of the semicircle were the forerunners of the great colony. On Cape Ann, the first fishermen of what is now Gloucester had been put ashore by a fleet of the Dorchester Fishing Company of England in the autumn of 1623, to build a church, dwellings, storehouses, and sheds for curing and drying fish; to plant some maize; and otherwise make ready for a permanent settlement before the fleet returned in the spring for the next season's "take." But they "fell into many disorders, and did little service," besides getting into trouble by trespassing on the Pilgrims' fishing privileges on the Cape. That might have been the end of the venture if peace had not been made by Roger Conant, "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman, . . . lately removed out of Plymouth out of dislike for their principles of religious separation." The Dorchester Company requested the peacemaker to take charge of their men and livestock. But that and other efforts failing to give the settlement a good start, the Company sold out and dissolved, sending word to the men to come home as best they could.

"A few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind, and take charge of the cattle . . .

and [after three years], not liking their seat at Cape Ann, chosen especially for the supposed commodity of fishing, they transported themselves to Nahumkeike [a low, sandy spit of land now called Salem Neck, in one of the northerly harbours of the bay]. Conant secretly conceived in his mind that in following times (as since has fallen out) it might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world, of which he gave some intimation to his friends in England."

One of these friends was the leader of the defunct fishing company, and the pastor of most of its members, the " Patriarch of Dorchester," John White, a leader in the " powerful Puritan party which . . . for more than half a century " had remained " in the Church of England, . . . protesting against the discipline and service " on the one hand, while denouncing Separatists on the other.

" God," said Mr. White, " who filled the heart of that good man, Mr. Conant, in New England, with courage and resolution to abide fixed in his purpose, . . . also inclined the hearts of several others in England to be at work about the same design."

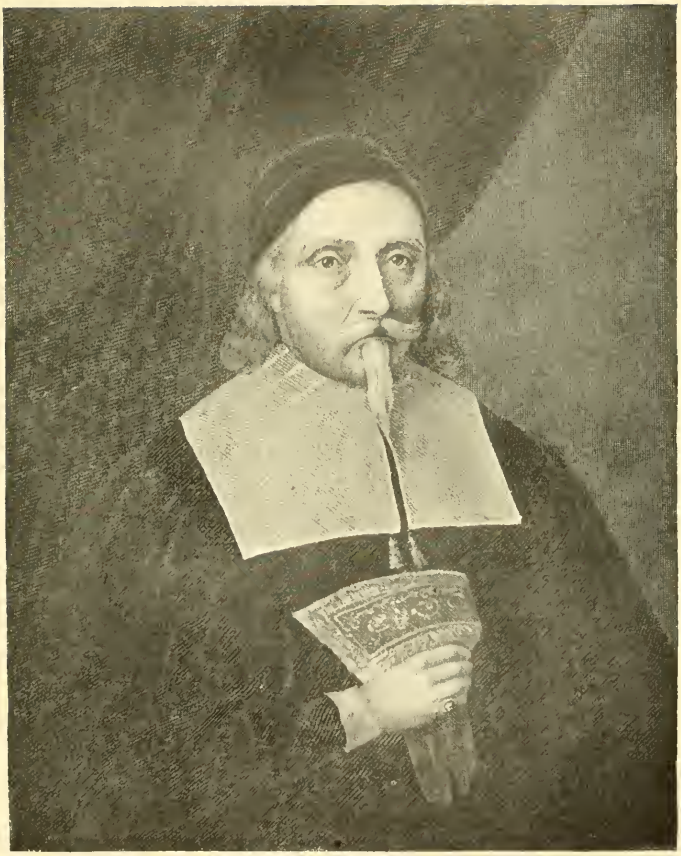
It was the modest patriarch who was the chief instrument to incline those several hearts in England. He wrote Conant, begging him

" not so to desert the business; promising that, if himself with three others whom he knew to be honest and prudent men . . . employed by the Adventurers, would

stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and, likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men or provisions, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians."

On that promise the men "stayed to the hazard of their lives."

Meantime, in 1625, James I. had died and his son Charles had shown more determination than his father to harry the Puritans out of England. His favourites, the Duke of Buckingham and Archbishop Bancroft, carried High Church ceremonies nearer than ever to the Church of Rome, arousing a large body of influential men to add themselves to the Puritans for the preservation of what they thought the good old customs of England; sentiments which Charles sought to discourage by loss of place, confiscation of property, confinement in the Tower, and prospect of death. By so spreading greater alarm for the future, his Majesty recruited aid to Mr. White, especially through the family of the third Earl of Lincoln,—ancestor of the present ducal house of Newcastle,—who offered the "help of their purses if fit men might be found to go over." When John Endicott of Dorchester and a few others came forward, on March 19, 1628, an apparently innocent trading company secured patents from the New England Council to a strip across the continent from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles; laying out trouble for some who had earlier grants in this region. In September, Master Endicott landed at



JOHN ENDICOTT.
From an old Print.

Naumkeag with a colony called the London Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay. They immediately quarrelled with the " first seaters," but Conant again " composed differences "; whereupon all agreed to name the place with the Scripture word for peace, Salem.

The King, little knowing what he was doing, confirmed the patents by a royal charter for trade, fishing, and other projects, to " The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," empowering them to increase their numbers, elect their own officers annually, and in Quarter Sessions, or Assemblies, held four times a year, to manage their affairs under the laws of England. No place of meeting was named — the point on which turned the history of the " real " New England. Then the Company hastened to secure the nine points of possession before the King or the New England Council could discover their secret and begin to question the law. Within a year another large party was despatched, with arms, tools, victuals, clothing, goats, and over a hundred head of cattle. Endicott was instructed to bind up the wounds he had made among the " old planters " who had held on to the hazard of their lives, by confirming and enlarging their land-holdings, by giving them the freedom of the Company, and the privilege to continue growing tobacco, which all other settlers were forbidden either to grow, sell, or use.

" By common consent . . . all were combined together into one body politic . . . in all, both old

and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at . . . Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at . . . [what] we do call Charton or Charlestown"

in honour of the King from whom they fled and whose allegiance they soon ignored in every form of their government. Thomas Walford, the blacksmith, and others of Gorges's men, were paid handsomely to remove without complaint. This, at first, was intended for the capital, because it was important in the beaver traffic, which was the "only really profitable trade open to the planters. They all engaged in it. . . . Massachusetts beaver skins were used as currency just as tobacco was used in Virginia." The Indians' wampum was also currency.

Among the ministers of this company were Francis Higginson, who had been deprived of his living for nonconformity, and Samuel Skelton, a Separatist. They were "the earliest of those New England divines who were men of letters as well, and to whose writings we owe a large share of our knowledge of the history." Endicott poured into their eager ears all he had learned about the pure forms and strict discipline of the society at New Plymouth. Within four weeks they formed a similar society, with Mr. Skelton as Pastor and Mr. Higginson as Teacher; each ordaining the other by laying on of hands. Higginson drew up a covenant, which was accepted by thirty of the principal colonists, including Governor Endicott — a simple,

unpremeditated act which proved nothing less than the establishment of the Church of New England.

When news of this was carried home to those in the secret, Puritans had begun to see his Majesty's coldness toward them crystallise into persecution, and to consider that the " woeful spectacle " of Continental Protestants buying their lives by returning to the Church they had renounced " may teach us more wisdome to avoid the Plague when it is foreseene and not to tarry as they did till it overtake us." Many troubled congregations met under the rose to listen to the reading of private copies of a manuscript entitled " Reasons for New England," probably written by John Winthrop, a well-known and esteemed country gentleman who advocated an exodus to the wilds of America to found a " particular church," which should be as powerful there as the Established Church in England. Before long twelve rich gentlemen agreed to follow his lead, to take up large estates in the Massachusetts Bay grant, and with their families " to pass the Seas (under God's protection) to inhabit and continue in New England " for " God's glory and the Church's good." They shouldered the Company's whole undertaking, already £3000 in debt, with the patents and charter, on the assurance of their legality by the ablest lawyers in the realm. Because the services of the first Governor, Matthew Craddock, were of the utmost importance in England, he was voted — at secret meetings held under his Majesty's nose — as the Company's London agent in charge of " financial affairs only,"

while Winthrop, the type of broad Puritanism, was made Governor, and the bigoted, austere Thomas Dudley was Deputy-Governor. Ten other men were the Council, or Assistants—all forming the Board of Magistrates. They drew up a sad farewell to their Mother Church, and embarked with all possible speed, taking the precious patents and charter, and nearly a thousand colonists, mostly in families. Besides the rich men were many of small means, who simply paid their passage to become modest landholders and freemen of the colony. Others who could pay none or only part of their charges were bound to the Company or to private masters, for five years, after the usual custom of "servants." On the vessels, "there were preachings and expoundings by beloved preachers, with no fear of pursuivants . . . every day for ten weeks. . . . The watch was set by one Puritan captain with the accompaniment of psalm-singing."

It is easy to picture the arrival of one shipload after another as the curious passengers crowded the decks and came ashore at what by that time were the starving and fever-stricken villages of Salem and Charlestown. The gentlemen and ladies were still in velvets and laces, which some of them afterwards replaced by more austere dress. Substantial "good-men" wore leather, their "good-wives," homespun, as easily distinguished by their clothes as the servants and other plain "fellows," "women," and "maids." In July, 1630, a general Thanksgiving was held over the safe arrival of most of the seventeen ships that had brought from England the

first of the Great Migration. But from ship-sickness, hunger, and cold, a fifth of the company were buried before December, while many more returned to England. The Magistrates, themselves reduced to shell-fish, ground-nuts, and acorns, were so appalled by the enormous expenses before them that they told the Company's two hundred servants to make their own homes anywhere within the patents that they could find good water and fertile soil—and so another common-store system fell to pieces. The worst of these hardships passed with the first winter, and other colonists came over by thousands during the next three years, by hundreds in the following ten years, until the death of Archbishop Laud stopped his persecutions and the exodus, which was, says Mr. Eggleston "the one real service which this able and indefatigable divine rendered the world."

Of all the new interests, the deepest was in the Salem Church. Groups of families had come with their clergyman, or secured one as soon as possible; and every group eventually followed the example of Salem. They did not agree in details, says Mr. Eggleston; "one or more long retained Presbyterian forms"; and few were schooled to the good John Robinson's "toleration of tolerable opinions." These groups settled Saugus, now Lynn; the Meadford, now Medford, on the Mystic; Newtown, now Cambridge; Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Boston, the capital on Shawmut peninsula, which Blackstone vacated, saying he had no more inclination to be under the lord brethren of Massachusetts

than the lord bishops of England. They were winnowed, it was said, from the best stock of Old England, chiefly from good families of Middlesex, Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk.

With few pleasures or luxuries, they worked early and late felling trees, tilling their plots of virgin ground, raising stock, hunting, fishing, curing fish and furs to export with their lumber; for which they received scant supplies of manufactured articles from "home." They built houses, boats, and mills, fenced land, and soon connected their towns by roads, although the water was their main highway.

The Company's first General Court in America, held at Boston in the autumn of 1630, after voting in over one hundred of the free settlers, agreed to admit no more who were not members of some church approved by the government of the colony, creating upon the Massachusetts Bay an oligarchy of religious opinion which was maintained against constant attacks for over thirty years. Pastors and teachers, although not allowed to hold secular offices, were so revered for their character and learning as to be almost the ruling class. The Boston ministers took the lead, but others had great influence. Nathaniel Ward, pastor of Ipswich, who prepared the Body of Liberties, or first set of laws, is known as "more than any other man the legislator of primitive Massachusetts."

The Magistrates took the reins to drive "the Bay Horse" with a high hand; but in 1635 the first body of deputies (instead of all the freemen) in

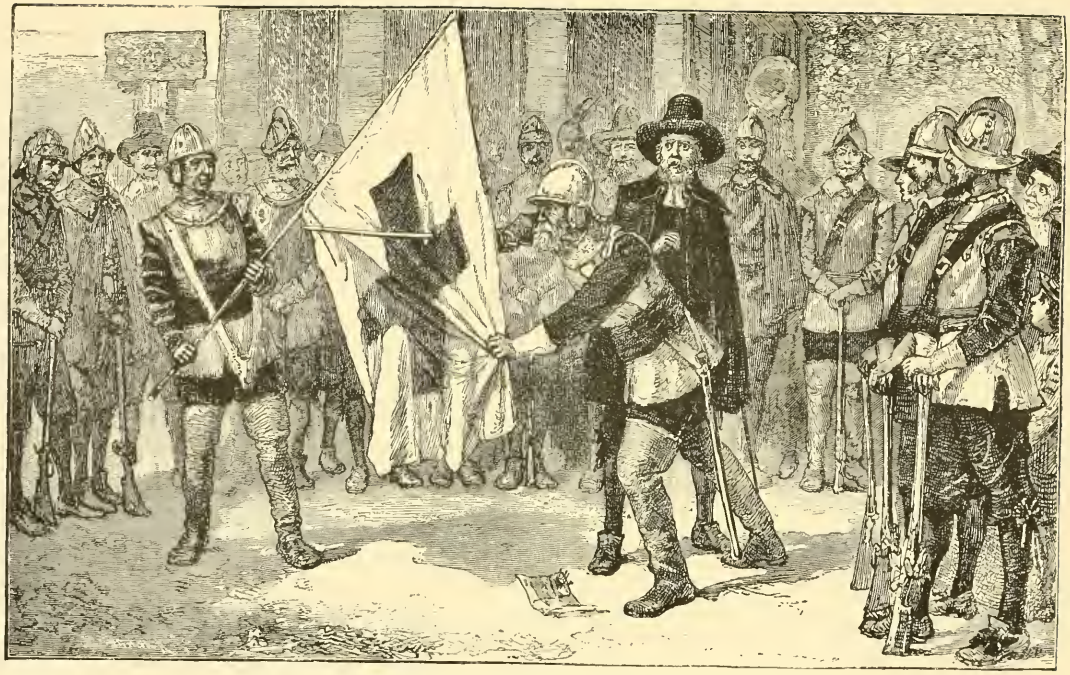
General Court called for the patent and charter, and declared the freemen's rights to control laws, offices, taxes, public moneys and lands. "Whenever the ship of state was labouring the natural resource was to call Winthrop to the helm"; but the officers seldom were two years in the same office, lest they should forget that they were elected by the colony. The towns insisted upon managing all their own affairs by vote of all the inhabitants in town-meeting, making up their militia or train-bands, and electing their own officers,—only church members,—including an executive board of seven of the principal inhabitants, known at first under other names, but after a few years as "selectmen." They furnished the pattern for nearly all the townships of the continent in themselves, and in making the colony a federation of small republics as the separate colonies eventually formed a nation.

In England, when the King discovered the Company's secret, there was "scandal both of Church and State." Twice the skilful Craddock smoothed matters somewhat; but Charles appointed his Royal Committee for Plantations with Laud at its head, resumed the New England Council's charter, made Sir Ferdinando Gorges Governor-General of the Royal Dominion of New England; and, upon the Attorney-General's declaration that the Company had forfeited their charter by making laws contrary to those of England, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against them in September, 1635. But it was only the shadow of Laud's vulture; and the shrewd Magistrates at Boston, delaying their

responses, kept the newly fledged colony under cover until quarry was started near home.

Meantime all was so far from serene within, that the people of Watertown, Newtown, and Dorchester removed in 1636 to the Connecticut Valley and set up a colony of their own. The town of Roxbury, removing at the same time, planted Springfield, unintentionally, within the Massachusetts claim—long the solitary pioneer of the western frontier. Some of the internal rufflings were of the sort to increase the King's displeasure, especially acts of excessive zeal for the newly defined religion, such as sending back ministers who insisted on the forms of the Established Church, and Endicott's rash act, when in the street at Salem he snatched from a train-band the royal flag and cut out the red cross, which from time immemorial had been the symbol of St. George, the patron saint of England. He declared it the symbol of popery and Antichrist. The authorities of the colony sat upon this offence a long time,—chiefly for effect in England,—at length hatching an "admonition" and an order that Endicott should hold no office for a year; meanwhile discontinuing the use of the disputed ensign, fortifying the harbour, authorising military captains to train unskilful men three days in the week if they pleased, discontinuing the use of coin in favour of musket balls as a legal tender at the rate of a farthing apiece, and requiring "the Freeman's Oath of Fidelity of every male inhabitant of or above the age of sixteen years."

These were interesting times; and the records



ENDICOTT CUTTING THE CROSS FROM THE KING'S BANNER.
From an old Print.

are full of the quick invention to meet the necessities of the new life, the enterprise that wooed and won prosperity, the "good old English customs" jealously preserved; the foresight that founded Harvard College almost before all were sure of food and shelter; above all, the elaboration of the "particular" faith, so absorbing to the colonists, but to their great-grandchildren nearly as lifeless as the symbols on the mummies of Egypt. They listened to a mid-week lecture besides the three-hour Lord's Day morning sermon with attention undistracted by the discomforts of fireless meeting-houses and narrow, cushionless benches; every point of reasoning, every opinion and text presented being on the lip of young and old for the rest of the week. Controversies over the Winthrop liberality and the Dudley dogmatism often absorbed individuals, churches, towns, synods of ministers, even the General Court.

Into this theological storm-centre fell the King's special commission to examine the country, one of the commissioners being the handsome young son, namesake, and heir of Sir Henry Vane of the Privy Council. Received with adulation, he joined the Boston Church and the Company. Though but a boy of twenty-three, a faction against Winthrop elected him Governor at that memorable time when Harvard College was founded, — the first in the colonies, — when the convulsions over the heresies of Roger Williams and the Antinomians, John Wheelwright and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, threw out of the Bay the founders of Providence, Ports-

mouth, and Newport, Rhode Island, and of Exeter, New Hampshire, at the same time scaring away a desirable new company of most orthodox Puritans who planted New Haven. And these were but a few of the events that stood out against the flaming background of the Pequot war in Connecticut.

Young Vane was back in England, to play a great part among the Puritans there, when the first rumbles of Cromwell's thunder awed the Massachusetts people into holding fast-days to implore Heaven to guide their brethren of the Parliament in their breach with the King and their many assumptions of authority, especially those of the Plantations Committee led by the Earl of Warwick. But they prayed with one eye open for adjacent territory claimed by royal favourites, and soon "cast the skirts" of their government over the settlements of New Hampshire and Maine, although they had to allow the people their vote without becoming church members. They were not so successful in extending their "protection" over the Narragansett settlers. Moreover, the four Puritan colonies, Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven "conceived it their bounden duty . . . to enter into . . . a consociation . . . for mutual help and strength, that as in nation and religion, so in other respects they might be and continue one." In 1634, they bound themselves as the United Colonies of New England to act through a Federal Commission of eight men, all church members, two chosen by each of the four General Courts, to meet annually, or oftener if necessary, at the

capitals of the four colonies in rotation. This federation lasted for twenty years, till New Haven was absorbed by Connecticut, and in a looser form for twenty years longer, till Massachusetts and New Plymouth were made into one royal province. The commissioners were an advisory board in matters concerning the colonies' relations to each other, dealings with Indians or other foreign affairs. Questions on which they could not agree were referred back to the General Courts, and in conflicting interests " the Bay Horse " carried the bit in his teeth, declaring, when the others protested, that he pulled the bulk of the load. The fifteen thousand people of the thirty Massachusetts towns were supposed to be able to furnish one hundred men for defence, while each of the other colonies furnished half as many from but three thousand inhabitants each. The formation of this union, unsatisfactory as it was, is regarded as the greatest event in the history of the plantations, not only as an act of sovereignty in which the mother-country was ignored, but as the first step toward the federation of all the colonies consummated one hundred and fifty years later.

Still bolder action was taken when some of the " old seaters," Samuel Maverick of Noddle's Island and other men of consequence, who had steadily refused to join any church, appealed to Parliament against the religious barrier to citizenship. The General Court declared, " Our allegiance binds us not to the laws of England longer than while we live in England; for the laws of . . . Parliament . . . nor do the King's writ under the

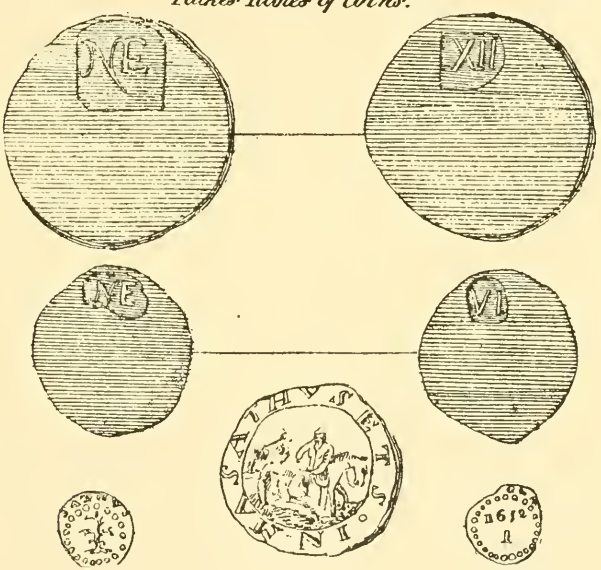
great seal go any further." But they were flesh and blood with the rulers of England then. The Plantations Commission assured them that they "intended not to encourage any appeals from your justice."

This new aristocracy of religion would have no illiterate class. In 1647 they decreed "that every township . . . after the Lord had increased them to the number of fifty householders" should maintain a common school for boys, and that every town with one hundred families should "set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they might be fitted for the University."

Not long after that, the Synod convoked at Cambridge issued "A Platform of Church Discipline Gathered out of the Word of God," the famous "Cambridge Platform" of the Independents, afterwards known as the "Book of Discipline of the Congregational Society," and formally accepted by the General Court, making Congregationalism the name of the "orthodoxy" of New England. The new church spread to the Old Country, with a quickening zeal for the soul of the savage as well as of the Englishman. At the colonists' request Parliament incorporated "The Society for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." But, although it spent an income of some £600 a year and the colonists did more in proportion under the devoted apostleship of John Eliot, Samuel Gookin, the Mayhews, father and son, and others, this powerful society failed in

fifty years to convert one half of the eight thousand natives of Massachusetts and New Plymouth. The stronger tribes held aloof. All the efforts to learn each other's speech did not bring the two races to a

Fac Similes of Massachusetts Money as contained in Folkes Tables of Coins.



clear understanding. The savages suspected the Englishmen's motive in drawing converts away from their race and shutting them up in "model settlements," apparently under the thumb of the colony, while the French carried their much more attractive religion into the wilderness, converting whole tribes at a time.

After Charles I. was beheaded in 1649, although Parliament was full of the colonists' friends, they did not recognise its authority by so much as a request. But they took every advantage of its non-interference policy to build up their trade, from colony to colony, and as far as the West Indies. Soon Spanish coin almost displaced beaver and wampum as currency. It brought so much counterfeit, however, that the General Court, in June, 1652, established a mint, and appointed John Hull, a goldsmith of Charlestown, as mint-master. The twelvepenny, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces, of three fourths the sterling value of English money, which the eccentric Hull made out of "bullion, plate and Spanish coin" for over thirty years were a convenience for which the colony paid heavily when Royalty was restored.

The period of the Commonwealth was a time of bitter persecution in the Bay. Neal* says the Puritans were "no better friends to liberty of conscience than their adversaries," adding that "the question between them was not whether one party of Christians should have power to oppress another, but who should have the power." It is hard for us to understand that the founders of the colony felt themselves to be but preserving the faith for which they had suffered everything, when they whipped, mutilated, and even hanged delicate women and honest men, chiefly Anabaptists and Quakers, who conceived it their duty to bear witness among the Puritans to some other forms of religion. But many at Boston

* *History of New England.*

and elsewhere were so horrified by the last of these murders that another could scarcely have been committed, even if warning had not come from England.

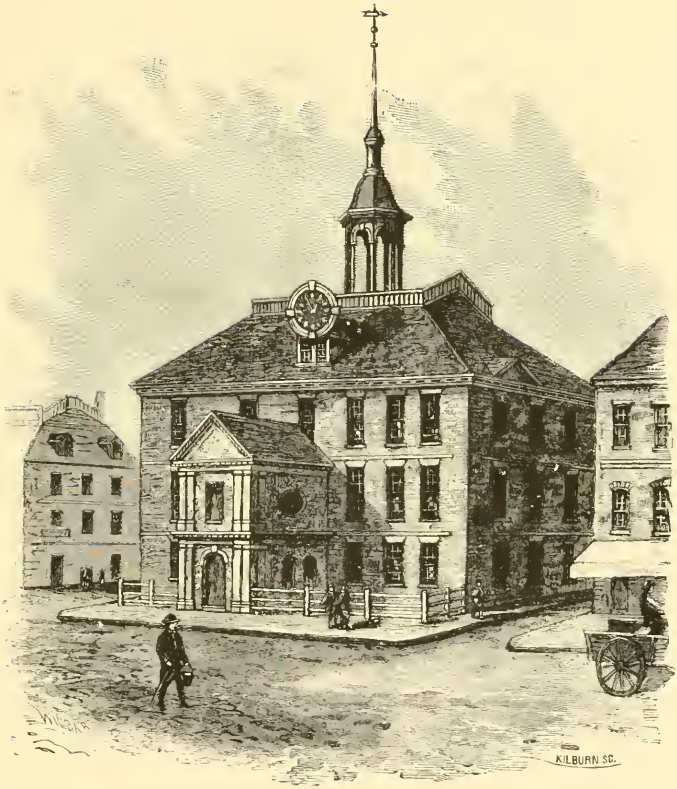
Charles II. had been recalled to the throne. His twenty-five years' reign was not an easy time for the great colony, which then numbered 25,000 people, in fifty towns. As a man who knew what it was to suffer from Puritan persecution, he gave ear even to the despised Quakers regarding the things done on Boston Common, and sent a letter to Governor Endicott by the hand of one who had been scourged and twice banished, commanding an end to the persecutions. He ordered that any Friends then in prison should be sent to England—the Crown's first action to establish an appeal from the local government.

The King suspected the Massachusetts people of sheltering Edward Whalley and his son-in-law, William Goffe, two of the Regicides. As a matter of fact, they had been welcomed in the colony. Churches had filled to hear them proclaim their part in the treason; and when the King's orders for their arrest came, they were allowed to slip away to a more secure hiding-place at New Haven, while the General Court appointed as messengers to pursue them two young Englishmen lately arrived, who knew so little of the country that they were easily thrown off the scent, and at length gave up the search, leaving the Regicides to live and die under New England protection.

The great, prosperous colony was still more independent in regard to the Navigation Acts. The

Council for Plantations complained of their smuggling, their selling wool to the Dutch, depriving England of that market, and of other "enormities." Proprietors Mason of New Hampshire and Gorges of Maine wished the governments of their colonies to be freed from the "skirts" of the Puritans. Samuel Gorton told how his colony on the Narragansett had been broken up. The commanding figure of Dr. Clarke stood forth for the grievances of Rhode Island. Even the able and charming Winthrop of Connecticut sued for his charter, partly to protect his colony against "the arrogance of the Bay." The Massachusetts colony sent representatives to defend them, and to plead for the Restoration seal upon an enlargement of their rights and privileges. But the men they sent on this delicate mission cut a sorry figure beside the proprietors' courtiers and the polished statesmen from Rhode Island and Connecticut; and his Majesty, while granting the others' requests with the greatest liberality, merely confirmed the Massachusetts charter, with strict orders that business should be conducted in the King's name, and both public offices and the franchise extended to men of other churches—which was not done under this King or the next.

More hateful than these orders was a two years' visit from three royal commissioners, who came out in 1664, with Colonel Richard Nicolls, who seized the Dutch province of New Netherland for the Duke of York. These men were Sir Robert Carr and George Cartwright, who were nobodies, and



THE FIRST CHURCH, OR "OLD BRICK."

Samuel Maverick, the " old seater " and enemy to rigid church-membership citizenship, whom the colony's persecutions had driven from his hospitable seat on Noddle's Island. The King had sent them to " investigate," sit as a court of appeal over the New England governments, and act for " the peace and security of the country " ; but " their main end and drift " was to curb the " independency " of the Massachusetts settlers, and force a portion of their wealth into the royal coffers. The commission reported this wealth as amazing in fish, livestock, iron, and naval stores; while in lumber, the colonists not only sent the monarchs of their forests as masts to all parts of the world, but " spoiled good timber " with many sawmills of " a late invention " to make " a great trade in deal boards " and pipe-staves; the merchant captains setting forth upon the high seas to sell whatever they had wherever they chose as if there were no navigation laws.

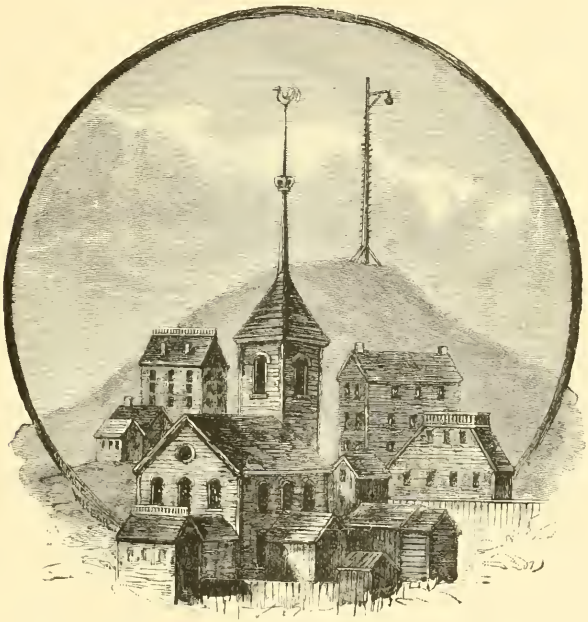
They also behaved almost as if there were no royal commissioners; and the noise of their boldness, their prosperity, their industry, integrity and purity of life were almost awesome in the Merry Monarch's court. The Lords of Trade debated how they should address these rich and independent spirits, whom they believed to be " almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crowne."

The colonists, for their part, in dread of how the King would crush them, made much of the time when the seizure of New Netherland reopened war between England and Holland, to send his august Majesty a large present of masts, " a blessing

mighty unexpected," wrote Pepys, the gossiping secretary to the Admiralty, "but for which we must have failed the next year." They also sent a great supply of provisions to the royal fleet in the West Indies, and generous help to London for the sufferers from the Great Plague and from the Great Fire which followed. But when his Majesty became absorbed by affairs in Europe, the General Court stretched out its hand once more over the eastern settlements, and granted land for new towns to hundreds of newcomers of divers beliefs along the Merrimac, up the Nashua, and westward on the upper Connecticut.

While these new farms still were separated from the towns on the Bay by nearly one hundred and fifty miles of upland forest, broken only by the two small, isolated hamlets of Brookfield and Quinsigamond, now Worcester, the country was suddenly set ablaze by Philip's War, in the summer of 1675. The Boston hierarchy ordered a day of humiliation, declaring the war Heaven's punishment for the colony's neglect in catechising the young, excess in apparel, wearing long hair, leaving church before the close of service, and laxities toward unbelievers. Forthwith, anyone found at Quaker meeting was fined £5 and imprisoned on bread and water with hard labour. Much less sweeping measures were taken to check the war and to save the exposed settlements; but the colony fought and suffered much during the months in which Philip directed the attacks here and in New Plymouth, and, after his death, for the following two years in the north-east.

The Massachusetts settlers were placed under a tax sixteen times greater than in ordinary times. Almost every town was partly ruined, while a baker's dozen were destroyed. Six hundred houses, nearly a



KING'S CHAPEL (1688), AND VIEW OF BEACON HILL.

tenth of all in New England, were burned, and there was hardly a family that did not mourn its father or grown-up sons. Yet, two years after peace was restored, all the settlements seem to have been rebuilt.

In the midst of this war the King ordered a further examination of the New England colonies by

Edward Randolph, the most hated figure that ever threw the shadow of royalty athwart the independence of Massachusetts. He searched Maine and New Hampshire—whose proprietor was his cousin—as well as the Bay for every form of evidence against their government. Their case was only the worse when a flash of Yankee spirit inspired their agents to purchase Maine while the King was haggling over it. Among the merchants of the large towns, especially in the capital, he found many Churchmen, disfranchised and opposed to "Puritanical rigidity." Some offshoots of the old stock were "for concession." Among them was Joseph Dudley, son of the dogmatic old Deputy-Governor, a brilliant young man welcomed to high office. Taking him for a leader, Randolph formed his malcontents into the first New England Tories to aid his Majesty's engines of destruction, which with the appearance of due legal steps vacated the charter October 23, 1684.

Within a year Charles II. was dead. In the spring of 1686, his successor, James II., sent Randolph the documents which placed Massachusetts, with New Plymouth, the King's province, and Connecticut on the south, and New Hampshire and Maine on the east, under a royal provisional government, with Joseph Dudley as President, and without any means whatever for the people to have a voice in their affairs. Then fell the last bonds of the New England Federation. Within a dreary year, lit up by French-Indian firebrands in the north-east, came Sir Edmund Andros as General

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BUILT IN 1729.

Governor of the Dominion of New England, not with the hollow title Gorges had held, but with absolute powers, and a guard of British redcoats. His Council were lay figures. He levied taxes and fees; he wasted money and good New England blood in fighting the French Indians in his own way. The resentment of the colonists was of the stern complexion of their character. But they felt that their greatest " affronts " were offered by " Baal's priest " in the person of the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, holding forth in the Town-House to a congregation of some four hundred Anglicans, with their " printed prayers . . . leeks, garlics, and trash." The Boston ministers absolutely declined to obey his Majesty's order to allow the Established congregation to use their churches until its own was built; but the Governor himself terrified the sexton of the Old South Church into letting them use it on a Good Friday. Once in, there was no getting them out, and his Excellency relished his little revenge, in keeping " the Lord's own people " waiting an hour or more in the street, while Ratcliffe and his flock performed their service within. Marriages, too, were to be solemnised only by the new priest; and " many righteous customs substituted by popish practices."

But in 1688, as soon as it was known in Boston that the English Revolution had driven James II. to France, his deputy-tyrants were imprisoned or forced to flee, and all the good old ways were restored except the exclusion of non-church members from voting.

In May, 1690, news of the coronation of William and Mary was brought by Sir William Phips, an enterprising Maine shipwright, who had won a fortune and the honour of knighthood—bestowed for the first time upon a native of the colonies — by raising a rich Spanish galleon. Never, says Palfrey,* had such a pageant been seen in Massachusetts as in the rejoicing over their accession. The colonists were blind to their danger from William's war with France. Not until after they heard of Count Frontenac's terrible sack of Schenectady, New York, could Phips induce them to give him some seven hundred men to attack Port Royal; when they did, he destroyed it, following up the victory by taking several other strongholds on the way back to Boston. But off Falmouth, now Portland, he saw the French strike down his own flag. Then the Magistrates, ministers in their high pulpits, pamphleteers, and the people in town-meetings called for a supreme effort to conquer Canada. But their undertakings resulted in failure; only Phips's generosity saved the colony from falling into bankruptcy as well; and before the war was pushed, the Protestant sovereigns answered the colonists' appeal for a renewal of their charter in a way that broke their hearts.

* *History of New England.*

CHAPTER VIII

A "NOTORIOUSLY DEMOCRATIC" ROYAL PROVINCE

THE charter of the Royal Province of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals of William and Mary in 1691, and was brought over by Phips, as Governor, about the time that the colonists' excitement over witchcraft culminated in the hanging of many harmless old women in Salem. Sir William Phips's brilliant career, instead of being crowned with the glory of being the first royal Governor of his province, was blasted by the colonists' indignation when they found that the charter was not an extension of the old rights and privileges; that it denied them all they had desired except control of their money, their system of town government, the support of their ministers and schools, and some of their Puritanical customs, such as Lord's Day observances and civil marriages.

It merely authorised a government on what had become the regulation pattern for the British provinces in America, retaining many of the forms of the colony with all the difference in the world as to

personnel. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and Council, forming the Upper House of the General Court, were appointed by the Crown, but only the first Council; the Deputies, or Lower House, were elected by men of the province having forty pounds in personal property or a freehold estate worth two pounds a year. The Assemblies were called and dismissed by the Governor. Their Majesties left the exact boundaries to be quarrelled over for half a century before commissioners arranged them to everyone's dissatisfaction, and merely laid off the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific between the Narragansett Bay and the St. Lawrence River, excepting New Hampshire and the strip belonging to New York along the Hudson and Mohawk rivers. This included New Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia, with a vast, undefined coast, many great rivers and forest wilderness occupied by the French and their Indian allies. All trees fit for masts then growing on common lands were reserved for the Crown, a decree to be enforced by the King's Surveyor of the Woods, the well-hated John Bridger, who did his best to make it as heavy a thorn in the side of Massachusetts as of New Hampshire. Even this charter was often threatened, but it stood for seventy-five years. Under it, to the end of their days as British subjects, the people had fourteen governors, lieutenant-governors, or acting governors, scarcely one of them acceptable, although half were New-England-born.

All internal taxes and expenditures were voted by the General Court, and the Deputies held the

purse-strings from the first, contending that any motion for a money grant should declare the use to be made of the money, and that the governor's and other salaries should be paid by yearly or half-yearly grants. Here, as in other colonies, the Crown's demand for salary grants for a term of years was the bone of contention, the provincials' weapon of offence and defence, or reward for concessions.

Their Majesties laid heavy demands on these prosperous people, with revenue officers everywhere, while they hampered manufactures, trade, and commerce for the benefit of Old England, and requested yet other funds beside many of their able-bodied men for eight years of William's war. The people who, a short time before, had been willing to take the lead to overcome Canada now barely defended their own frontiersmen, and felt justified when, after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, their conquest of Port Royal and other posts was returned to France. Even then border-fighting was merely subdued.

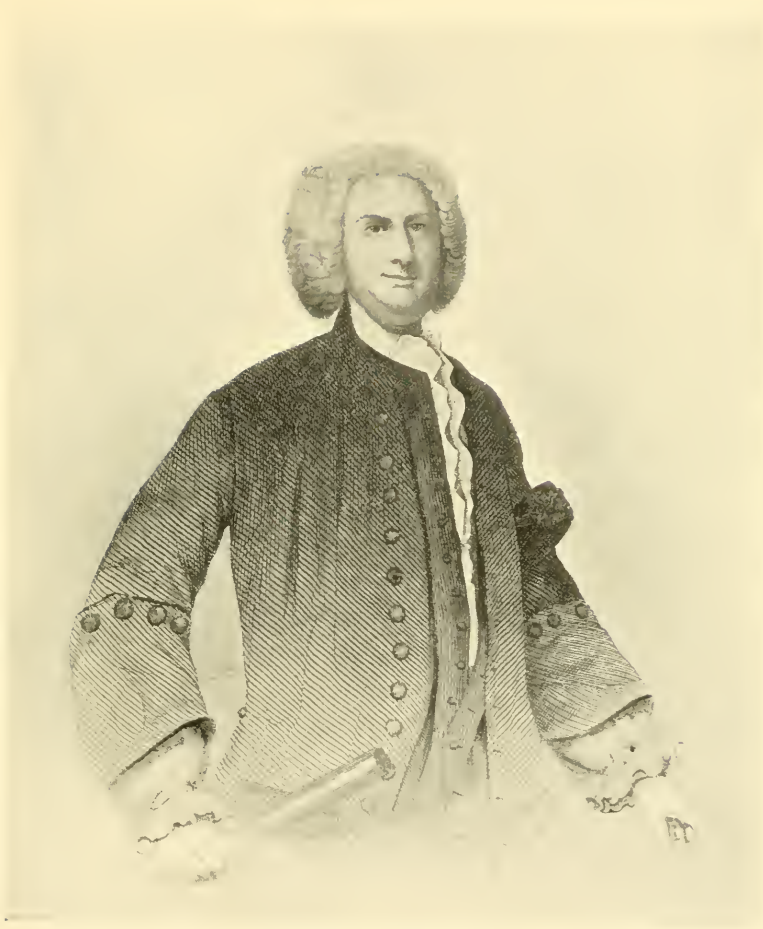
When this province, with three others, was supposed to be under the pirate-fighting Earl of Bellomont, who spent most of his time in New York, the Delegates voted him two thousand pounds, the largest governor's grant they ever made, and begged him to protest for them that they were not bound in conscience to obey laws they had no voice in making. But the only result was to arouse the King's advisers to remind him that the chartered provinces

"had not only assumed the power of making by-laws repugnant to the laws of England and destructive to

trade, but . . . continued to be the retreat of pirates and illegal traders, and the receptacle of contraband merchandise," while "the denial of appeals is a humour . . . prevails so much . . . and the independency they thirst after is so notorious" that more strictness should be enforced, and "it might be expedient to resume their charters."

When William III. died in 1702, and his sister-in-law became Queen Anne, she yoked New Hampshire with Massachusetts — a custom which was continued for nearly forty years — and sent them but one governor during her twelve years' reign and eleven years of renewed war with the French. This Governor was the colonists' hated countryman, Joseph Dudley, who quarrelled with the Assembly like a brother over appointments, provisions for the war, salaries, and the royal order that the province should build him a suitable residence. Randolph and his force were on hand to collect duties, to pounce on smugglers, or on any farmer who showed signs of raising more wool than his family needed, while they slept with one eye open for vessels that crossed the line between the renewed privateering and piracy.

The raids of the French Indians—who had improved their fighting trim in the four years since the Peace of Ryswick—were directed chiefly by the missionary Father Sebastian Rasle, from his stronghold at Norridgewock on the Kennebec. As the trouble increased, Dudley reported that the Assembly complied with every request for the war. There were four expensive undertakings against Port



SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL.
From a steel Print.

Royal: two that failed in the spring of 1707; another that lay idle from May to October, 1709, waiting for regulars that were sent at length to Portugal; and the final victorious effort that was made under the excellent and well-known royal officer of many colonies, Francis Nicholson, who in the summer of 1710 reduced Port Royal with the rest of Acadie, set this country ablaze, and even fired ambition in England to follow up the victory in the next summer with the costly fiasco of General Hill's project for the conquest of Canada. After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, it was estimated that the expenses of Massachusetts had been greater during the war than during any other decade since the settlement, while every fifth man capable of bearing arms had done military service. Business was nearly dead. There was no coin. The paper money issued for war expenses had depreciated hopelessly, while the scrupulous leaders considered the government in duty bound to make good the losses that worthy citizens had suffered from counterfeits. After Queen Anne's death in the autumn of 1714, Dudley was displaced with many a smirch on his name, in spite of what was called a careful " blanching business " by the *Boston News Letter*, founded ten years before, the first newspaper in British America.

The reign of George I. was covered in this province and New Hampshire by Samuel Shute, colonel in the British army, Spanish campaigner, and Dissenter, a pupil of Charles Morton, the colonists' own bold preacher at Charlestown. They soon found that Shute was not on their side, though he served

them well in one quarrel. He forbade the public press to publish an "Additional Answer" against one of his vetoes, upon which, in 1719, the Attorney-General gave an opinion that the law could not sustain him. Some say that the freedom of the press was thereby established in Massachusetts; but three years later James Franklin, publisher of the *New England Courant*, was arrested for articles criticising the government, and was at length "forbidden to print anything whatever until it had been supervised by the Secretary of the province. This caused so much inconvenience that from February, 1723, his name disappeared, and the *Courant* purported to be 'printed and sold by Benjamin Franklin in Queen Street' from that time till it ceased to exist, four years later." But, meantime, sixteen-year-old Ben Franklin left his brother to work out his own salvation while he made his way to Philadelphia, where in due time he did much for the freedom of the press and of all the colonies. Historians of New York date the beginning of the freedom of the press in this country with the acquittal of Zenger in 1735.

There were other important scenes in the province besides the unpleasantness between the ruffled, periwigged royal officers and the severe, homespun patriots. None were of more interest than those in which the prejudices of the old inhabitants were opposed by the new immigrants who settled the fertile valleys of the north-west, especially the Scotch-Irish encouraged by Shute.

During the last five years or so of the reign, the

James Otis

Aged 30.
After a Portrait by Blackburn.

Governor "took refuge from the Assembly" in England, while the self-sacrificing Lieutenant-Governor, Jeremiah Dummer, "bore their insults" with unfailing tact, and directed another "eastern war" of the colonists' own making. In the summer of 1725, a great victory was won by the surprising of Norridgewock, the destruction of the mission, and killing of Father Rasle, whose raids in the past six years alone had cost the settlements two hundred men and added £250,000 to the Massachusetts debt.

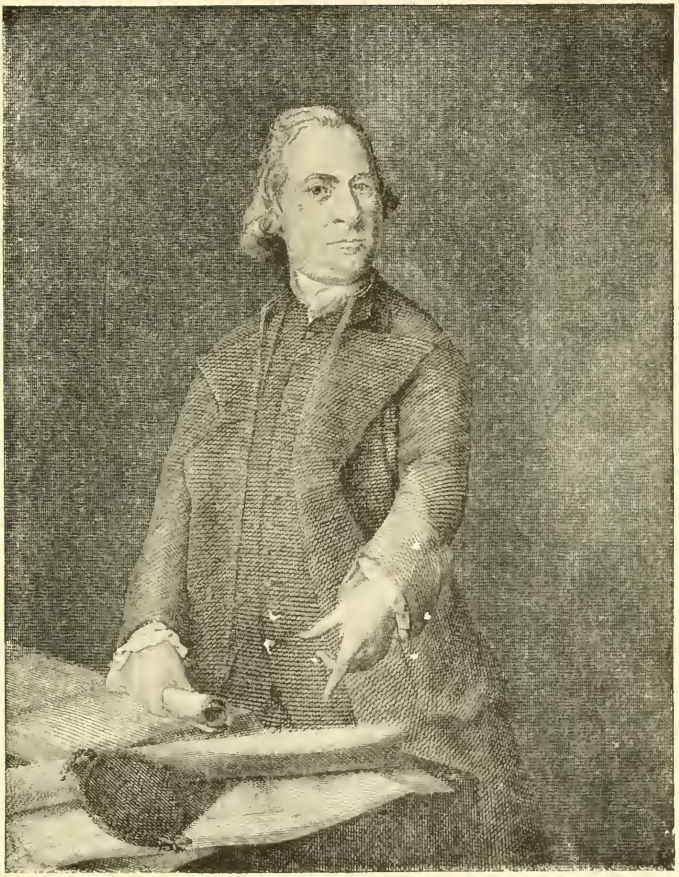
The people felt that the sudden death of the King in 1727 was a Providential interference against Shute's return; but soon afterward they were less confident of heavenly favour upon "the terrible visitation of an earthquake." Ministers called their congregations to repentance for backsliding from the piety of their forefathers. Lieutenant-Governor Dummer recommended a day of "extraordinary fasting and prayer"; and great endeavour was made "to set in with this extraordinary and awakening work of God in nature, and to preach His word in the most awakening manner . . . in all the congregations many seemed to be awakened and reformed." This was the forerunner of the "Great Awakening" of seven years later, when "the spirit of God set in and wonderfully worked" among the people for about ten years.

They had much need of grace when the new King George II. began his thirty-three years' reign of taxes and wars, by sending to them and to New Hampshire William Burnet, whom they called the

Bishop of Salisbury's unsanctified son. The brief term of fourteen months, until his death, was stamped on the history of the province by a rapacity which nothing could satisfy but "the proper exercise of the prerogative." He removed the Assembly from Boston to Salem and to Cambridge as a rebuke to the Bostonians for their "penurious influences"; but their stubborn resistance was at length upheld by the Privy Council. When he was called to the great reckoning in the autumn of 1729, the Assembly voted two thousand pounds to his children, but they made no secret of their satisfaction at being again under Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, who poured oil on the troubled waters, until for the third time they were pitted against one of their own sons.

Jonathan Belcher allowed his eleven years of government to be cursed by the bartering of office for favour, though all who accepted his appointments lost where they hoped to gain. He lost, too, in working for the richer province in the boundary dispute with New Hampshire. During all these troubles Massachusetts paid its share of the price for the founding of the King's distant province of Georgia, in the new chapter opened in the English and Spanish wars by the loss of all but fifty of the five hundred volunteers to Admiral Vernon's expedition against Cartagena.

Belcher was displaced in 1741—when the tie with New Hampshire was broken — by William Shirley, who governed for fifteen years. He began by obtaining permission to receive his salary as the House



SAMUEL ADAMS.

was willing to grant it, and the record is that in his long administration he was "rarely indiscreet, never overbearing, and always able to yield with dignity and good nature." After King George's war with the French broke out, he covered himself and the province with glory by his enthusiastic share in an expedition under William Pepperell of Kittery, Maine, which took Louisbourg from the French. Pepperell, the hero of the expedition, was made a baronet—the first American to receive that honour. This was over half a century since Phips, also of Maine, had been made a knight. This capture was the great event of the war, and brought peace to Europe, although the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 returned the fortress to the French. But France gave up Port Royal, where the English established Annapolis, and the colony of Halifax was made the headquarters of the British army in America, relieving Massachusetts of a burden on its government and a drain on its population. When the royal treasury reimbursed the colonies for their outlay in the expedition, one September day in 1749, over two hundred chests of Spanish dollars and a hundred casks of copper coin, equal to £183,600 sterling, were received in Boston as the Bay's share. Thomas Hutchinson, who was then Speaker of the House, forced it, by a fight that cost him popularity at first, to use this coin to redeem nine tenths of the colony's bills of credit. Nothing in his remarkable career was so enlightened, so patriotic, and so courageous as his enmity to every scheme except the use of this money in honest

payment of the province's bills of credit, which had been the bane of the people's existence for sixty years. Then, while the other colonies plunged into deeper financial distress, Massachusetts entered upon solid prosperity. Shirley, " by many degrees the most popular Englishman in America," urged that the fortifications should be completed along the frontier, at the charges of the provinces under an act of Parliament. This was reviving a suggestion made ten years before by Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, and by Horace Walpole. Some say it had much to do with the parliamentary control of the provinces which the King set on foot in 1750, and which struck fire from Massachusetts as flint from steel. The first act, prohibiting the colonists from manufacturing in iron and steel, closed several thriving industries. By the search warrants called Writs of Assistance, customs-officers entered private houses and went into every corner for contraband goods.

Yet during the seven years of the last French war, which, in 1755, the Virginians opened in the Ohio Valley, this province was most generous in aid to the general conflict which was beyond its borders, besides giving all the men and money necessary to fight the Indians who renewed hostilities in Maine. Shirley's brief command of the King's army after Braddock's death had little effect but to give the last blow to his popularity, which had long been declining. The people were glad when his place as governor was given to Thomas Pownall, who probably was the only popular royal Governor of

LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS AT BOSTON, 1768.

Massachusetts. His two years' term was enlivened, however, by the general anger over Lord Loudon's idle command of the war and his quarrels with "his most trustworthy friend" in America, the General Court, before he would accept their barracks and other provision for soldiers as of their own motion, not as in obedience to the Quartering Act. Yet for Lord Amherst's command they contributed one fourth of the twenty-eight thousand provincials who formed the larger portion of the conquering army. Pownall said, when writing to Pitt of the enormous sums they raised time after time: "It is certain that the country has been . . . preserved by the efforts which this province has made. It ever did, ever will, and ever must take the lead when any spirited measure is expected."

In the midst of the rejoicing when the conquest was assured, Pownall was transferred to South Carolina. For a few important weeks Hutchinson, then Lieutenant-Governor, had "an opportunity to show his shining qualities to advantage."

The last and best known period of the province's history began under his masterful Majesty George III. and the disputatious, avaricious thief and liar, Governor Francis Bernard, whose term of ten years ended in disgrace on both sides of the water. In his inaugural address, Bernard spoke patronisingly of the great benefit which had been bestowed upon the colonies through the late victory won by Great Britain. To this the House replied:

"The whole world must be sensible of the blessing derived to Great Britain from the loyalty of the colonies

in general, and from the efforts of this colony in particular, which for more than a century past has been wading in blood, and laden with the expenses of repelling the common enemy, without which efforts Great Britain at this day might have had no colonies to defend. . . . The connection between the mother country and these provinces is founded on the principles of filial obedience, protection, and justice."

Bernard was sensible enough of these truths to report home that the Massachusetts people were distinguished for their loyalty and public spirit, and "better disposed to observe their contract with the Crown than any other on the continent." The Assembly, led by Oxenbridge Thatcher and the two Otises, father and son, rebelled against the Writs of Assistance; and fought hard to make gold a legal tender. When the Governor consented to the latter, they presented him with the large and beautiful island of Mount Desert; and when the King wanted troops, they offered liberal inducements to volunteers; the younger James Otis declaring: "Our own immediate interests, as well as the general cause of our King and country, require that we contribute the last penny and the last drop of our blood, rather than by any backwardness of ours his Majesty's measures should be embarrassed."

But at that time the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel gave orders to extend missions of the Established Church for Indians and others throughout the villages of New England. There was consternation and anger in the colony; and the General Court incorporated a rival "Society for Promoting

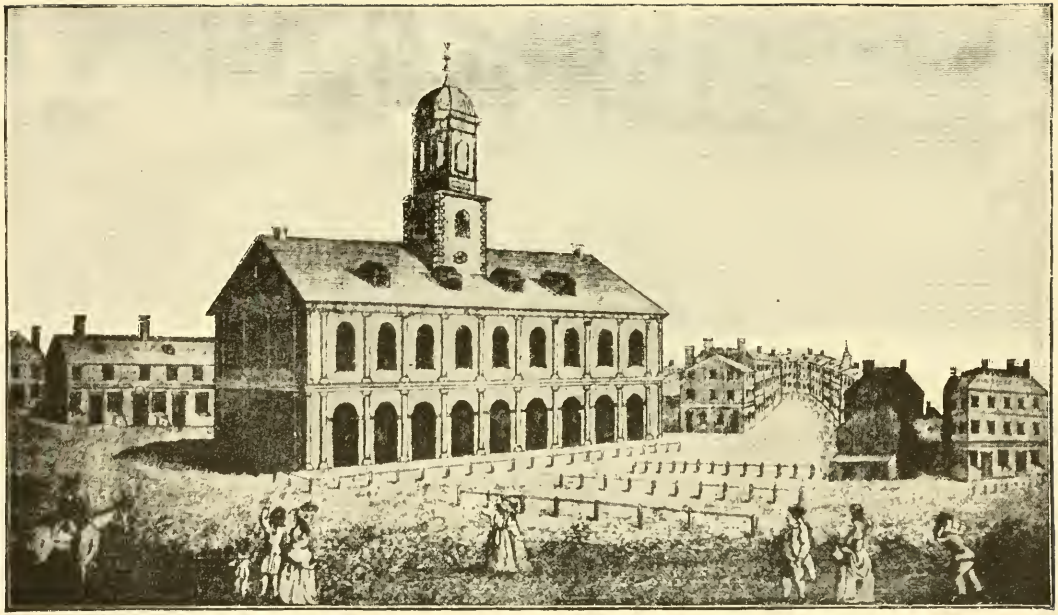
277 THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America." The King suppressed it, arousing "an universal alarm." Some of the ablest men of the province were showing the people its significance when they were thrown into greater apprehension by the Navigation Acts of 1764, which demanded a tax on the colonists' lively trade with the West Indies, in which they carried rum, lumber, fish, and livestock in exchange for the sugar and molasses of the French and Spaniards. That trade was the source of most of the income spent by the people largely on English manufactures. Then Boston's famous town-meetings began, in which the people instructed their representatives in General Court. The foremost figure was Samuel Adams, a middle-aged man, who had spent many years in public service, but was said to be "wanting wisdom to estimate riches at their just value." Now when the people required a great mind and a character without possibilities of selfishness he was their man. His first important measure was for the Committee of Correspondence, which invited the other colonies to mutual assistance in view of this menace to their "most essential rights."

The brilliant and long-trusted Hutchinson, holding half a dozen of the highest offices, began to play a double part at the hour that he was arousing the patriotism of his countrymen by his narrative of the first sixty years of their colonial history. Professing to dislike the measures of Parliament, he tricked the Assembly into sending an address which made them appear to be weakening their resistance; a mistake

no sooner discovered than corrected by the non-importation agreement. This open resistance, begun by the few, was joined, after the Stamp Act passed the next year, by high and low, leaving but a small number of "Tories" throughout the province. The "lower orders" of Boston broke into riots. They tore down valuable buildings of their once esteemed Secretary, Andrew Oliver, because he had accepted the office of Stamp Distributor — also forcing him to resign. They laid Hutchinson's richly furnished town mansion in ruins, destroying valuable papers for the remainder of his *History of Massachusetts*. Although the leaders publicly censured these mad doings, they all preached resistance, and the Assembly advised the courts to do business without the stamps. Even in the rejoicings over the repeal, Otis reminded the House that other taxes remained, and Joseph Hawley declared, "The Parliament of Great Britain has no right to legislate for us" — the first time, says Bancroft, that the power of Parliament was denied totally in any colonial legislature.

New Yorkers at that time were resisting the Quartering Act; and although the frontiersmen of the two colonies were engaged in a bloody quarrel over their boundaries, Massachusetts took the side of her great rival against the King, and so encouraged the resistance that Parliament considered it the gravest offence yet committed by the colonies, and ordered troops to cope with their insubordination. Samuel Adams wrote to Dennys de Berdt in England, to oppose the establishment of a military force in



281 FANEUIL HALL IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

America, as needless for protection and dangerous to liberty, adding, " The best way for Great Britain to make her colonies a real and lasting benefit is to give them all consistent indulgence in trade, and remove any occasion of their suspecting that their liberties are in danger."

Everyone knows that Parliament only laid on Charles Townshend's scheme of taxes, while the King gave the customs commissioner at Boston a secret warrant for a large salary to Chief-Justice Hutchinson, making him independent of the people in an office held " on pleasure " simply to do Farmer George's tyrannical will. By this time, the beginning of 1768, all of the Thirteen Colonies were looking to Boston; Virginia, New Jersey, and Connecticut sending letters of sympathetic adherence, while the northern neighbour, forgetting old family quarrels, declared: " The whole body of the people of New Hampshire . . . resolved to stand or fall with Massachusetts." His Majesty's new Secretary, Lord Hillsborough, dissolved the General Court, but could not dissipate the stuff of which it was made. The militia were under arms, exercising and firing, when at Governor Bernard's request British troops were ordered from Halifax to occupy Boston, and fifty " offenders " against the home government demanded for trial in England. The selectmen of the capital called up a body of representatives from ninety-six towns and eight districts, who organised as an Assembly and met together for a week. Even the Council refused Bernard's request to provide for the coming regiments, saying

the law had been complied with when the barracks at the Castle were filled. This answer, published in the *Boston Gazette*, dealt, the Governor said, "the greatest blow that had been given to the King's government."

When General Thomas Gage — for eleven years Commander-in-Chief of the forces in America — arrived with nine hundred men, Bernard was at his wits' end to know how he should house them. Gage said, "The whole proceeding is out of place in this country where every man knows the law." Kindly private acts sheltered the men until Gage hired some buildings opposite the Town-House, flanking it with cannon. Citizens and soldiers hated each other cordially; their quarrels were continually in the courts, and led at length to the street fight —in which the lives of five colonists were lost — much talked of as the Boston Massacre, on March 5, 1770. The citizens at length compelled the removal of the troops.

Amidst the excitement in England, some cried for the abrogation of the "rebels'" charter; but the Crown lawyers said nothing had been done to forfeit it. Bernard, recalled at last, was rewarded for his double dealings by such hatred that the ministry actually promised never to employ him again in America. Almost at the same time that Parliament repealed all the American duties except one of threepence per pound on tea, his Majesty transcended the limits of his prerogative and infringed the charter by an Order in Council declaring Boston the rendezvous of all ships stationed in North

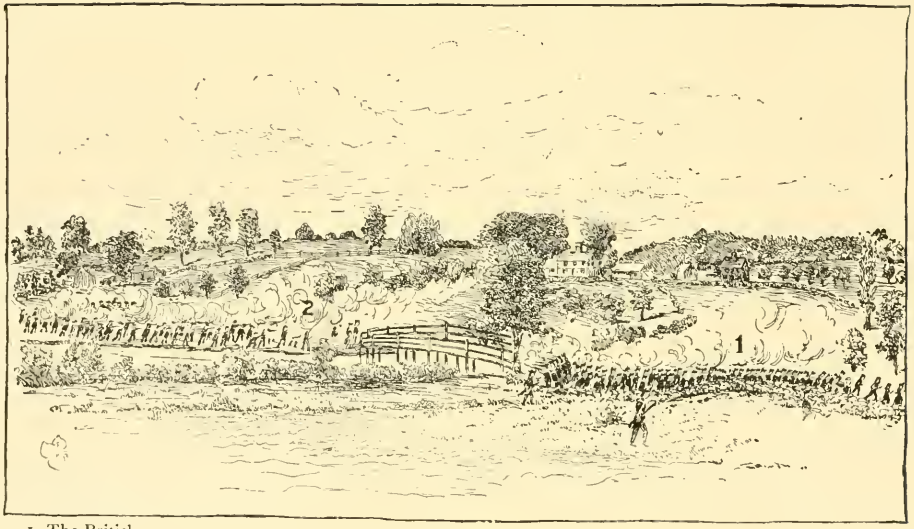
THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, APRIL 19, 1775.
From an old Print.

America, and commanding regular troops, under an officer named by Gage, to take possession of the fortress. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, knowing that in the Governor's absence he was by charter commander of the militia and forts, fearfully called a secret session of the Council to announce the order. They were astounded and would do nothing. So Hutchinson went himself, privately, to the Castle in the harbour,—which was built, kept in repair, and garrisoned by the province,—and, discharging officers and garrison, turned the fortress over to one of Gage's officers. This service, certainly requiring great bravery and loyalty to the King, raised Hutchinson's name so high in England that he was made Governor in 1771, while the post of Lieutenant-Governor was given to his brother-in-law, Andrew Oliver, formerly exalted as Secretary and abased as Stamp Collector. They were both to receive their salaries from the King, though the money was demanded from the people, of whom they were, by this act, made independent. Upon this affront, with a dozen war-ships in the harbour and his Majesty's orders out to arrest or buy off the leading patriots, Hutchinson, in the Governor's annual Thanksgiving-Day proclamation, named among the causes for gratitude "that civil and religious liberties were continued," and "trade enlarged." No wonder it stuck in the throats of the ministers, and that instead of reading it from their pulpits, as ancient custom required, they appealed to their congregations to use the day "to implore of Almighty God the restoration of lost liberties."

Upon the next measure, when judges' salaries were removed from provision by the General Court, and ordered paid out of the customs funds, another great Boston town-meeting set on foot what soon became a powerful Committee of Correspondence among the towns. Under Samuel Adams and the gentle and daring, law-respecting and liberty-loving Joseph Warren, this committee within a year made the province practically a unit for resistance. But much strength was added to the determination when Dr. Benjamin Franklin, agent in England for this and other provinces, secured a bundle of letters, written by Hutchinson, Oliver, and other Crown officers, revealing a plan to deliver the province into the King's hand. A petition to the Crown for their removal, presented by Dr. Franklin, was dismissed as "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Bancroft says: "History keeps the record of no similar petition dismissed with more insolence or avenged with more speed."

The first step towards definite separation, it is said, was taken that same year of 1773, by the town of Mendon, Worcester County, in the shape of a resolution, "that all just and lawful government must originate in the free consent of the people."

Meantime, after some backsliding and public repentance, the Boston merchants were keeping the non-importation agreement so well that "under the eyes of the commissioners of the customs, seven eighths of the teas consumed were Dutch teas"; and everyone knows how patriots, disguised as Indians, threw overboard a cargo of English tea



1. The British.

2. Americans.

THE FIGHT AT THE BRIDGE.
Redrawn from Ralph Earle's Sketch of 1775.

forced into port, making the famous "Boston Tea-Party" in the autumn of 1773. Then by the "Boston Port Bill," Parliament declared the port closed, annihilating the commerce and the life of the capital, the largest town in New England, while the King revoked some of the charter privileges, and removed the headquarters of the army from Halifax to Boston, replacing Hutchinson by General Gage. Throughout the province the people wore badges of mourning. Boston's rival ports did not jump at the chance of humiliating her as his Majesty expected. Salem and Marblehead immediately offered the suffering merchants the free use of their wharves, warehouses, and services. From these and other towns — from almost the entire country — came food, clothing, money, and sympathy. Gage was soon obliged to break up the next session of the General Court; but not before they had managed to invite the congress of representatives from all the colonies, which met in September and October, 1774, at Philadelphia, and to appoint their delegates, among whom were Samuel Adams, John Adams, and John Hancock, President of the Congress. Gage then called his regiments to him from the Middle Colonies on the one hand and from Quebec on the other, while he placed Boston under guard, took possession at night of some cannon at Cambridge belonging to the province, and removed a quantity of powder from the arsenal at Charlestown to the Castle.

In September, the Suffolk County delegates at Milton passed the famous "Suffolk Resolutions" on the country's grievances. They savoured strongly

of independence, and were approved by the Continental Congress. The Great and General Court of the Province never met again; but in October, the delegates, taking advantage of some technical omission in Gage's dismissal, convened and resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, electing John Hancock President. By adjourning themselves to Concord, to Cambridge, and other places, they avoided receiving the Governor's warning against "illegal proceedings," while they placed the province under a Committee of Safety and Supplies, and, out of a quarter of the militia, secured a force of minute-men, who were armed and ready to serve their country at a minute's warning. On the 19th of April their efforts to save from Gage's men an important collection of military stores at Concord resulted in the skirmish at Lexington which opened the war.

Gage then took military possession of Boston. In a few days he was hemmed in by a semicircle, from Dorchester to Charlestown, of some twenty thousand militia from all the colonies, which, after the Declaration of Independence, was placed by the Congress under command of General George Washington of Virginia. There was begun the eight years' war which made good the Declaration.

The Massachusetts people, by advice of Congress, held an election for both Council and Assembly as under the charter; the Council, after the old custom, taking the duties of absent Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Everything was managed by familiar methods for five years, until a constitution was adopted by the State of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER IX

NEW HAMPSHIRE, THIRD COLONY—A PROPRIETARY PROVINCE OF LUMBERMEN

THE third foothold of Englishmen on the seaboard was probably secured soon after 1614, if not before. A small station for both river and sea fishing, like the first Pemaquid, it was placed for convenience off the mouth of the Piscataqua River on the islands which were discovered, some say, by Champlain, but first made known to Englishmen by Captain John Smith. That world-wide traveller named them for himself, with the comment that they were "among the remarkablest Isles and mountains for land marks . . . a heape together, none neare them against Accomenticus," whose three summits are still the seaman's guide for many miles. After a dozen years or so, the Puritans denied the good captain his modest glory and called his group the Shoal Islands, or Isles of Shoals. The Dutch kept to "Smit's Eyland" for over half a century. Says the quaint and painstaking Jenness:

"For many lustres of years, this small harbour must

have sheltered floating colonies of fishermen summer after summer, with the ' Doggers and Pinckers of the English, the clumsy Busses of Holland and Zealand, the light Fly Boats of Flanders, the Biskiner, and the Portingal, and many another of those odd, high-peaked vessels of quaint model and, to us, incomprehensible rigging.' Half a dozen ships were often riding at anchor there, each having as many as fifty men. Other vessels were out dragging the seas, while about one third of the crews lived ashore in rude little cabins of rough-hewn logs or of lighter boughs and mats, fashioned with the help of the Indians. The catches of fish were landed upon large ' floating platforms that projected from the rocky margin of the islands into the waters of the harbour; and the rocks, at the shore end, were roofed over by an open shed, used for the splitting and the salting of the fish which were afterwards dried upon the flakes in the rear ' —expensive and room-taking structures still used in some places. The abundant cod were twice as large and heavy as those of the Newfoundland Banks. The climate then, as now, was strangely mild and uniform; free from much of the sharp winds and the fogs that on either side beset the Bays of Casco and Massachusetts. This ' enabled the fishermen to prepare by a process of alternate drying and sweating, without salt, the famous dun or dumbfish,' to bring ' three or four times the price of Poor John and Haberdine, made at Newfoundland.' ''

The harbour was overcrowded for several years, which was probably the reason that after Gorges and Mason became proprietors of " Lygonia," in 1622, their first grant was the island and six thousand acres of mainland for a large fishery and fur-trading station at the mouth of the Piscataqua. The

295 VIEW OF WENTWORTH HALL, LITTLE HARBOUR, AT THE PRESENT TIME.

patentee was Captain David Thomson, known in England as an agent of Gorges, "a Scottish gentleman that was conversant with the natives, a scholar and a traveller, and a man of good judgment." Under some agreement with three merchants of Plymouth, England, he came over in 1623, with a few men and "such victuals, provisions, etc., as shall suffice them till they are landed."

They entered the land-locked haven of what is now Portsmouth, and settled at Odiorne's Point, Little Harbour, in the present town of Rye—a site carefully chosen for defence against the French, who were upon the gulf and the river St. Lawrence, claiming the country as far as the Kennebec, and who had cause for enmity toward their English neighbours. The country must have seemed good to those English voyagers, with its primeval forests of "extra mast-length" pines, without underbrush, carpeted with verdure to the water's edge, and alive with game and with fur-bearing animals. There was countless wealth of salmon and trout up-stream, and inexhaustible cod off-shore. Thomson set up wharves, fish sheds, salt works, and huts for the men, possibly a chapel,—for they were a Church of England company,—besides a "Strong and Large House," upon which tradition has fancifully fixed the name of "Mason Hall." He "enclosed it with a High Palizado and mounted Gunns, and being stored extraordinarily with shot and Ammunition was a Terror to the Indians, who at that time were insulting over the poor weake and impoverished Planters of Plymouth." This settlement bore the

name of the river twisted into every possible form, from Pasquataquack to Pannaway. Here Captain Thomson lived for a year or so, giving clothes and shelter to Thomas Weston when that adventurous friend and enemy of the distant Pilgrim colony landed here in haste, stripped to his shirt by the savages. Here also were entertained Lieutenant-Governor Gorges, Admiral West, Captain Levett, and all the New England Council's famous voyagers; perhaps, after a time, some Pilgrims from New Plymouth, though the Pilgrims do not mention it.

Thomson's English partners soon sent out another division of the colony, so well fitted that the plantation struck root at once. They must have sufered in their rude cabins through the long winters of heavy winds and deep snows, but evidently they endured them bravely and made the most of the short summers ; and when Captain Thomson left, with some of them, for the island which still bears his name, in Boston Harbour, the rest were able to take care of themselves.

There is a question to delight the hearts of historical societies, as to whether or not a few of Captain Thomson's company proceeded some eight miles up the river, that same year of 1623, and made the beginning of the town of Dover, as soon as they had done their share toward building the stone house and fish sheds at Little Harbour. Sooner or later, at any rate, Edward and William Hilton, fishmongers of London, made a settlement at the lowest fording place on the Piscataqua, near what was

sometimes called the Falls of Cocheco, sometimes Hilton's Neck, or Point.

The Pennacook Indians and others subject to them received the newcomers hospitably, exchanged land for knives, fish-hooks, and iron kettles, and established good-will toward the English among about three thousand natives of the whole Piscataqua country. But the water-cut forests of the north and east were filled with the fierce Tarratines and other unnumbered and unbroken tribes that were won over to the French in one of the most powerful alliances in all history.

The obscurity of a "down-East fog" hangs over these early scenes. Through it there is an occasional break, as when, in 1628, the people of Little Harbour gave £2 10*s*.—as much as the Pilgrims of New Plymouth—toward breaking up Morton's colony at Merrymount, when they endangered all of the eight struggling English settlements along the coast by selling firearms and liquor to the Indians. The settlers at Hilton's Neck gave £1.

The next year, when the Council for New England, "upon mature deliberation, thought fit, for the better furnishing and furtherance of the plantations . . . to appropriate . . . to particular persons divers parcels of land," they granted to Captain John Mason, famous in many high places, the tract between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua rivers, "which, with the consent of the President and Council," he "intends to name New Hampshire," after the shire of which he was Military Governor. The same year, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John

Mason received patents for Laconia, including lands "bordering upon the great lakes and rivers of the Iroquois and other nations adjoining." Thereupon was formed the Laconia Company, which equipped a large force of workmen, fishermen, farmers, and traders with proper materials for building and for several industries, besides providing toys and tin pans for Indian trade. With a corps of superintendents, this was all in charge of Captain Walter Neal, or Neil, manager of the Laconia Company and the third Lieutenant-Governor-General of New England. He took possession of the stone house at Little Harbour, left by Thomson, employing the men he found there. His force was soon distributed for the divers departments of the Company's undertaking. Up the river Ambrose Gibbons set up a sawmill, and some say the first corn-mill in New England, near the fording place and opposite Hilton's Neck, at Newichwannock, afterwards part of Kittery and now South Berwick, Maine. His residence was a fortified house, which he soon made an important station for the fur-trade with the Indians. Another settlement, with the "Great House," began the port and capital, afterward called Strawberry Bank, and still later, Portsmouth. "Several cargoes of trade goods were sent over and put off for beaver skins at advantage"; while return shipments were of clapboards and pipe-staves; pans were set up to make salt from the sea water; vines were planted for the production of future wine, and considerable land was brought into cultivation. Defensive works were erected on Great Island,

where there has been some sort of fortification ever since. At this time probably the beginnings were made of the town of Newcastle and of what is now Kittery, Maine.

Neil's special task was to find a way, without touching New France, to the great peltry bonanza among the Indians of the Iroquois Lake, as the Company called Lake Champlain. They believed it to be not more than a hundred miles from the sea, in fact, the source of the Piscataqua. With a few companions Neil pushed up the river and its branches and threaded the forests to the White Mountains, which he called the Crystal Hills. Three years he spent "in labour and travel for fruitless endeavours," till "he returned back to England with a *non est inventa Provincia*." His only positive results were a woful shortage in his accounts and a successful expedition against the pirate Dixey Bull, whom he drove from the coast, but not till after the plunder of Pemaquid.

The partners in London, determined to make the best of a bad bargain, urged Ambrose Gibbons to find some good mines; and iron was found near Cocheco Falls. But Gibbons told them that there was no El Dorado here, as Neil had represented, leading them into mismanagement. "Great looks and many words," he said, "will not be a means to raise a plantation." He told them that the vines which they had sent out were unsuited to the country, and advised them upon plain and homely matters that would succeed, begging for "cattle and good hired hands," and mentioning that he wanted

the necessaries of life. Most of the partners seem to have been discouraged enough to sell out their shares to the indomitable Gorges and Mason, who, in 1634, divided the country on the line of the Piscataqua River. So Newichwannock fell to Gorges, and for a long time was a part of Kittery before it was set off as South Berwick, Maine. The rest of the "Piscataqua Plantations" were the foundation of New Hampshire.

During the three years of the Laconia Company's enterprise, Smith's Islands gained much in population and in business. Seventeen fishing ships from Europe arrived there and at Richmond Island, Maine, in the single month of March, 1634. At that time the taxable property of Smith's Isles was equal to that of New Plymouth, which was then beginning to see its best days. As neither Mason nor Gorges was willing to part with his interest, the islands were divided between them by a line which is still maintained by New Hampshire and Maine.

Mason placed his settlements under Captain Francis Williams, who had been Sir Francis Popham's agent at the first Pemaquid. Williams found the company at Strawberry Bank to number twenty-two women and fifty workmen, besides the eight Danes who had been sent out to set up potash works and sawmills. There was a set of church furniture on his list, along with twenty-two cannon, two hundred and fifty small arms, and forty-eight boats, more than forty horses, over one hundred cattle, nearly two hundred sheep, and some fifty

goats—the progenitors of the so-called native stock of this region.

This was in 1635, the year that the Council for New England was dissolved, an event of small moment to anyone, and of Captain Mason's death, which was a sad loss. He was a man who would have made New Hampshire a strong and liberal colony. By his will, the whole province was left to his widow as executrix for a grandchild, who did not come of age for fifteen years. The widow soon found that the expenses of the plantation were so great, the income so small, and the servants so clamorous for their pay, which was in arrears, that she was obliged to send word to them that she could do no more than release them to shift for themselves with what they had. Thereupon, they divided the cattle, buildings, and other "improvements," and formed a "combination" for government, electing Francis Williams Governor. There is record that Williams went to the newly founded town of Boston with one hundred Danish oxen, which he sold for £25 each. The next record is that in 1640 the Governor, Ambrose Gibbons, the Assistant, and eighteen others, inhabitants of Piscataqua, built a chapel and parsonage house, endowed them with fifty acres of glebe, elected a rector and two churchwardens, the latter to hold the property in trust; by virtue of which the lands are still held for the Episcopal Church.

During these seventeen years the settlement at Hilton's Neck had increased to many families, obtained a patent of its own, and showed a leaning

toward the Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay, although it received many who were banished for differing from the Boston ministers. The Cocheco people indulged freely in ministers, in governors, and in quarrels. One of the latter, among themselves, amounted to such a riot that Governor Williams was asked to come up from Strawberry Bank to quiet matters.

While the first plantations were striking root, two others were started independently of each other. Exeter was begun in 1636, by the godly minister, John Wheelwright, and his followers, banished from the Boston Bay Colony for their "Antinomian abominations." Wheelwright's settlement and church were begun in the dead of winter, near the falls at the head of tide-water on the Squamscot, the southernmost tributary of the Piscataqua. Fifty-five men, fourteen of whom signed with a mark, formed a body politic, but fixed no form of government nor qualifications to citizenship. The fourth town, Hampton, was also begun in 1636, in the building of a "bound house," by order of the General Court of Massachusetts, in assertion of their boundary claim. For over forty years Hampton was under Massachusetts without question.

To avoid entanglement in the many patents and intricate claims that spread their meshes for the unwary reader of the story of New Hampshire, we may be content with the simple statement that the Massachusetts Bay Company, holding grants made in 1628, could cast a cloud over a part of the Mason title, and, as it then seemed, could reasonably hope

to extend their domain to three miles north of the source of the Merrimac River. So, the year after Captain Mason's death, Hampton was settled by Bay colonists, and after another year or two they sent Hugh Peters and two others to the Piscataqua to " reconcile some differences between them and to prepare them" to unite with the Bay Colony. Peters reported them " ripe for government. They grone for Government and Gospel all over that side of the country. Alas! poore, bleeding soules." Other steps were taken with such success that the General Court at Boston on the " ninth day of the eighth month, 1641," extended its jurisdiction over the Piscataqua settlements on the grounds that the people living there consented and that the country was under the Massachusetts Company's patents. The settlers were promised " the same order and way of administration of justice and way of keeping courts as is established at Ipswich and Salem," exemption " from all publique charges other than these that shall arise for or among themselves," and the enjoyment of " all such lawful liberties as fishing, planting, felling timber, as formerly." All trees fit for masts were reserved as public property. The " bleeding soules " were assuaged by entering the Bay Company with the full rights of citizens and without binding themselves to be church members. Three settlements were defined with extensive boundaries, including the county of Norfolk, which was made to cover the country between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers. When the Massachusetts people laid off their four counties,

Salisbury was the shire town, but the Piscataqua settlements always held their own courts, one of the "principal gentlemen" of each town sitting with two assistants from the Bay. Soon each town sent its deputy to the General Court at Boston—nor was he necessarily a church member. Public charges, including the ministers' salaries, were payable in money,—which was scarce,—in beaver "pelts," in beef, pork, wheat, peas, malt, cheese, and butter. Each town paid a salary to the deputy who represented it in Boston, while the General Court entertained the "gentlemen from down-East" in the tavern of Lieutenant Phillips, at charges of three shillings a day for breakfast, dinner, supper, fire, and bed, with "wine and beer betwixt meals."

Between 1641 and 1680, during the time when the Piscataqua plantations were under the government of the Bay, they developed from rough proprietary stations into a united, self-governing liberal colony, which, with its great lumber trade, attracted many new settlers even from Boston. The people grew strong in the atmosphere of open town-meetings, and of a religion which they cultivated as it pleased them—either of the Established Church, or Puritanism, modified to a liberal Congregationalism. The robust sawyers did not hesitate to let many Puritan laws lie as dead letters. They sometimes obeyed orders from the General Court to whip Quakers "at the cart's tayle," but at other times rescued them from this persecution and helped them to leave the province.

While the settlers were still few in number, and

apparently very poor, they built churches, hired schoolmasters for their sons, and sent contributions to Harvard College. Their farms spread from the first settlements over the adjoining country-side to considerable extent. Markets were held once a week on "lecture-day" (Thursday) to combine thrift and devotion. The Sabbath Day was ordered by the statutes to be kept with Puritan solemnity, but the records of transgressors show a wide diversity of personal opinion on the same. There were eight gala days in the year, when "all males betwixt sixteen and sixty" mustered in their respective towns for military drill. The young women then looked their prettiest in homespun sheared from their father's sheep, carded, woven, and made into gowns by their own hands. It seems appropriate to remark just here that youths and maidens were married by a civil magistrate in New Hampshire as in Massachusetts, if "duly published and otherwise fitt to joyne in marriage according to law"; but our attention must not be distracted from the train-bands, for the fledgling colony gave much serious attention to its militia.

Within the first ten years under Massachusetts, the plantation at the mouth of the river prospered surprisingly. On the strength of having between seventy and eighty men able to bear arms, and between fifty and sixty families, it received the privileges of a township, under the name of Portsmouth. Complaint was made that "a party of strict Puritans had gotten, by the aid of Massachusetts, possession of that plantation, and under the system of the Bay

Colony were able to perpetuate their power at their own pleasure, and to allot among themselves, some eight or ten in number, nearly all the valuable common lands within their limits." In the town was a considerable body of early servants whose time was out, but who could not obtain their rights as freemen. They said that the " richest men of the parish rule, sway, and order all things, both civil and military, to their pleasure "; they " have kept us under hard servitude, and denied us our public meeting, the Common Prayer, sacraments, and decent burial of the dead "; besides the right to vote. The fishery business was neglected for different branches of the lumber trade, in which the foundations of large fortunes were laid by a few merchants who were strongly attached to the Bay and to the Puritan religion. They gave £60 a year to Harvard College, toward the education of young men for the ministry. They built a meeting-house in Portsmouth, and called to it the Reverend Joshua Moody, who became the most influential man on the Piscataqua. It is interesting that at the beginning of this prosperity the Bay attempted to nip slave-holding in the bud. The General Court, hearing that a " negar from Giney " was at Piscataqua, ordered him returned forthwith. Long afterward the rich families held a few slaves, who were well kept and happy, with rather better privileges than those of white apprentices and " hired help."

The other settlements also increased so that they were made townships and their territory extended. The name of Hilton's Neck was changed first to

Northam, then to Dover, and a suburb of farms was called Oyster River. Dover was rich enough to put a "terrett" upon the meeting-house, "for to hang a bell," and to raise £20 for a schoolmaster who could "reid, write, cast accompt . . . as the parents shall require." These advantages were, of course, only for boys.

Although scarcely a generation removed from Old England, these colonists knew little of the events that shook the mother-country to its foundations: the Civil War, the beheading of Charles I., and Cromwell's Commonwealth. But they knew when Captain Mason's grandson, Robert Tufton, became of age, taking the surname of Mason; for he sent over Joseph Mason to try and establish his rights as landlord of the province. Joseph found himself so defied by the settlers, and so entangled by the Massachusetts claim to the territory, that he soon returned to England, reporting that everything would be lost unless the home government should interfere. The case was hopeless under Cromwell, since the Mason family were distinguished for their attachment to the royal cause. After ten years more of steady growth, when the Commonwealth fell and Royalty was restored, Charles II. heard Mason's story, and ordered the matter investigated by his commissioners, who in 1664 made a midsummer yachting trip to the "eastern counties," and reported:

"This province reaches from three miles north of the Merrimac River to Piscataquay and sixty miles into the

country. We find many small patents in it and the whole Province to be now under the usurpation of the Massachusetts. . . . There being an excellent harbour, large and safe, and seven or eight ships in it, and great store of masts, we sent warrents to towns upon that river, with an intent to have that harbour fortified by them; but the Massachusetts sent a prohibition to them and a letter to us by their Marshall which put a stop to our endeavours. This place we think deserves fortifying as much as any place in New England. There are excellent masts gotten, and upon the river above twenty sawmills, and there were great store of pipe-staves made, and great store of good timber spoiled."

While the results of this and much other information were brewing in England, the General Court in Massachusetts called for a fort on Great Island, "at the proper charges of Portsmouth and Dover," and ordered that all disaffected persons seeking to change the form of government on the river be sent to Boston for trial. Corbet, a Portsmouth inn-keeper, who had circulated a petition to the King, was heavily fined by the General Court, put under bonds of £100 to keep the peace, disabled from "bearing any office in the town where he lives," and prohibited from "his irregular practices by retailing Beer, Cider, Wine and Liquors." How much the thrifty Bay Colony feared the loss of this territory may be judged from the fact that the fur-trade with the Indians on the Merrimac River alone was farmed out at that time for £25; on the Nashua for £8; and on the Penichuck Brook and its tributaries for £4. With money at ten, or even five

times the present value, these were large sums for privileges over comparatively small regions which were expensive to operate.

At that same time the witchcraft craze passed lightly over New Hampshire.

"March 30, Susannah Trimmings, of Little Harbour, Piscataqua, going home at night . . . heard a rustling in the woods, which she at first thought was occasioned by swine, and presently after there did appear to her a woman, whom she apprehended to be Goodwife Walford, who asked her where her consort was, and wanted to borrow a pound of cotton. Upon being refused, the old woman threatened and then left her, vanishing toward the water-side in the shape of a cat, while Susannah was struck as with a clap of fire on the back. She returned to her home and was ill a number of days.

"Agnes Puddington testified that a little after sunset she saw a yellowish cat, that her husband saw a cat and took down his gun to shoot her. 'The cat got upon a tree, and the gun would not take fire,' and afterwards the lock would not work. She afterwards saw three cats. At the court of associates holden in June, Jane Walford was bound over until the next court, 'upon suspicion of being a witch.' The complaint was probably dropped, for some years afterward Goodwife Walford brought action for slander against one Robert Couch, for calling her a witch, and recovered five pounds and costs."

During all these years,—nearly half a century,—the natives of the Piscataqua suffered the isolated English settlements to grow and wax strong, when they might have wiped them out at any time as an act of simple human justice against the sawyers'

selfishness and brutality. In 1670, the Mohawks caused some uneasiness in the mind of Wannalancet, the son of old Passaconaway, chief of the Pennacooks and over-lord of all the neighbouring tribes. He moved the seat of his nation down-stream, holding his court as sachem in a log cabin near Pawtucket Falls, and building a stronghold of heavy palisades for his people on Fort Hill in Belvidere. The settlers not understanding, or distrusting his reasons, made haste to enter their garrison houses and show themselves ready for hostilities. But Wannalancet disappointed them. Instead of making war, he peaceably received the missionaries sent up by the Bay, and several families of his nation became Christian, or "praying" Indians.

"The log meeting-house, presided over by an Indian preacher Samuel, stood near the Eliot church in Lowell, Massachusetts. In May of each year came Eliot and Gookin, the former to give spiritual advice, the latter to act as umpire or judge, having jurisdiction of higher offices and directing all matters affecting the worldly interest of the village."

In 1675, refugees from Philip's War in the New Plymouth and Bay colonies, after trying in vain to turn Passaconaway and his sons against the English, found the leader they wanted in Squando, a sachem of the Indians near the Saco River in Maine, and "a person of the highest dignity, importance and influence among all the Eastern Indians."

Under him and his warriors there was no peace for the New Hampshire settlers for nearly three

years. "Business was suspended, and every man was obliged to provide for his own and his family's safety. They took up their quarters in the garrison houses and were on guard night and day, subject to continual alarms." The General Court sent aid; the militia of the towns were on constant and exhausting duty. By both sides the war was waged with cruelties that form most unpleasant reading, but the treachery of the English stands out in this war; partly, perhaps, because of the vividness of old Belknap's * description.

Early in September, 1676, at Dover,

"four hundred mixed Indians were met at the house of Major Waldron, with whom they had made peace and whom they considered as their friend and father. The two captains [from Massachusetts] would have fallen upon them at once, having it in their orders to seize all Indians who had been concerned in the war. The Major dissuaded them from that purpose, and contrived the following stratagem . . . to have a training the next day, and a sham fight, after the English mode; and summoning his own men with those under Captain Frost of Kittery, they, in conjunction with the two companies [from Massachusetts] formed one party, and the Indians another. Having diverted them for a while in this manner, and caused the Indians to fire the first volley, by a peculiar dexterity the whole body of them (except two or three) were surrounded before they could form a suspicion of what was intended. They were immediately seized and disarmed, without the loss of a man on either side. The separation was then made. Wannalancet,

* *History of New Hampshire.*

with the Penacook Indians and others who had joined in making peace the winter before, were peaceably dismissed; but the strange Indians (as they were called) who had fled from the southward and taken refuge among them, were made prisoners, to the number of two hundred, and being sent to Boston, seven or eight of them, who were known to have killed any Englishmen, were condemned and hanged. The rest were sold into slavery in foreign parts."

Those who were released departed with a hatred for Waldron and his family which was transmitted from father to son, and avenged thirteen years afterward by putting the unfortunate old major to a horrible death. Massachusetts made matters worse by securing the alliance of the terrible Mohawks, ancient enemies of the Eastern Indians. Most of the New Hampshire tribes who had remained friendly then went over to the French, and, under their direction, harried the country for over a century, openly in time of war, covertly in time of peace. The French checked their murderous hand somewhat by offering a larger bounty for captives than for scalps; but the English placed their premium on scalps—some even followed the savages' example and with their own Christian hands tore the hair from their enemies' heads.

During a brief respite in these Indian troubles, New Hampshire was visited by the man who may be said to have turned the course of its history, the hated Edward Randolph, Collector of Customs under the Restoration's Navigation Laws, and New Hampshire's special enemy as a relative of Robert Mason.

His spicy comments on the country must be omitted from a story which has not space for "things that are not so." But the second Charles, not being embarrassed in this wise, used Randolph's report, together with that of the royal commission and sundry legal decisions in favour of Mason's claim, to compel Massachusetts to vacate its jurisdiction over the Piscataqua.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST ROYAL PROVINCE OF NEW ENGLAND

NEW HAMPSHIRE was a royal province for almost a century; but the first time it was set up, under Charles II.'s decree in 1679, it stood barely a decade, falling with the last Stuart king. This government, which Randolph proudly inaugurated, was "artfully contrived to give a show of great popular liberty and at the same time leave the King the supreme ruler of the land." "The most trusted and honoured men" were appointed by the King as the President, the Council, the Judicial Court, and to fill all the chief civil and military offices. The freeholders were authorised to elect deputies every year to sit with the President and Council in General Assembly—at the royal pleasure, by the way—to levy taxes, even to frame the laws. The latter were called for at once, to be submitted to the King in Council for approval, which they never received. A seal was ordered for the province, with a portrait of the King and the royal arms to be set up at the seat of the government, which was Portsmouth. Many promises were made to the people;

the only one fully kept was that they should have religious liberty.

The President, John Cutt, and his Council of lumber merchants, called for the Assembly election and appointed a fast-day, wherein Churchmen, Puritans, and other good people united to pray for "the continuance of their precious and pleasant things." The whole number of voters in Portsmouth was seventy-one, in Dover sixty-one, in Hampton fifty-seven, and in Exeter twenty; but in each town they went seriously to work to elect their three delegates — except Exeter, which had but two. The first New Hampshire legislature met at Portsmouth on March 16, 1680, solemnly prepared by an election sermon from the Rev. Joshua Moody of Portsmouth, their "archbishop and chief-justice too." After voting an address of gratitude to Massachusetts, with regret at being "separated from our brethren," they framed a set of laws taken from those of the Bay and prefaced with the declaration that no act of any sort should be imposed upon them "but such as should be made by the Assembly and approved by the President and Council." They had not passed forty years as part of Massachusetts for nothing. No doubt they foresaw a lifelong struggle with the royal will for the continuance of any precious or pleasant things that savoured of self-government and the preservation of the province against the claims of the proprietor. They set up their courts of justice, and organised a militia under command of Major Richard Waldron — four companies of foot, one for each town, a troop of horse, and an

artillery company for the fort on Great Island. That year eighty-five vessels were recorded as entering the harbour, most of them unladen, in quest of lumber. A few brought grain from Virginia and the West Indies, for the French Indians had so ruined the New Hampshire crops that the colonists were on short commons for bread.

When Randolph visited them in the summer, the officers of this newly made province refused to allow the great Collector, Surveyor-General, and Searcher for New England to collect the King's customs. Thereupon he seized a vessel in the harbour. The master brought action against him before the President and Council, which sat as his Majesty's highest provincial court. They awarded the shipmaster £13 damages, ordered Randolph to ask pardon of the Council for his insolence toward them, while the Deputy-Collector, Walter Barefoot, was fined for having "in a highly presumptuous manner set up his Majesty's office of Customs without leave from the President and Council, in contempt of his Majesty's authority," and for "disturbing his Majesty's subjects in passing from harbour to harbour and town to town." This brave beginning was the index of New Hampshire's whole story as a royal province. The sequel was that Randolph gave vent to his indignation in England, where it could do the most harm, and the royal government condemned the laws that the provincials had framed and gave the "independent spirits" of the Piscataqua extraordinary use for their long training as a part of the independent colony of Massachusetts.

As the new government was made for Mason's benefit, he soon came over with *mandamus* from the King to take a seat in the President's Council as Lord Protector of the province, and to force the people to take leases from him and to pay arrears of rent for land that had been wrested from the wilderness by their parents and grandparents, and defended from the savages at the cost of the lives of at least one quarter of every generation. These demands fell heaviest, of course, upon the largest landholders, who were the leading men in the rugged colony and in its new royal government. Fearless of the Lord Protector or the King behind him, they resisted Mason's claim; when he tried to browbeat and terrorise them, they faced him with an indictment for usurpation, from which he made a hasty escape to England.

His Majesty was already beginning to displace his "artful show" of provincial officers with men from England. On the opportune death of the aged President Cutt, Mason suggested, at the King's request, the appointment as Governor of Edward Cranfield, a "political freebooter," to whom Mason was deeply in debt, and had given the proprietary claims for security. Flattering themselves that by a few radical measures they would line their pockets for the rest of their lives, they came over in the fall of 1682. For the next three years they flung the most respected men of the colony in and out of every office, great and small; they imprisoned the Rev. Mr. Moody and others, vetoed the Assembly's bills, and punished the general resistance

by dissolving the House—a thing common enough in Virginia, perhaps, but never before heard of in New England. In the consternation that followed, a well-known man, Edward Gove, set a rebellion on foot, the first in New England. Deeply as the good men of New Hampshire resented the "carriages and deportment" of the royal officers, a jury of the most afflicted amongst them found Gove guilty of high treason. The judge, Richard Waldron, although one of the chief sufferers from Mason and Cranfield, with tears in his eyes, it is said, condemned Gove to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was the punishment for his crime in those days. At the Governor's request, Gove was sent to England, where, after four years in the Tower of London, his wife secured his pardon.

While rebellion was punished, a robust resistance was encouraged. The marshalls and sheriffs who attempted to enforce Mason's measures were met in each town by a reception committee with cudgels in hand, their wives behind them with buckets of boiling water and red-hot spits in case the cudgels failed. As soon as an officer began his obnoxious business he was seized, set backward in his saddle, with his feet tied under his horse, or cutting some other ridiculous figure, and was driven out of the town.

Meantime, the suffering and indignant colonists secretly sent Nathaniel Weare to England with a set of dignified statements and petitions which moved his Majesty's Board of Plantations and Trade to order Mason's suits suspended, to rebuke Cranfield and transfer him to Jamaica; whither he was glad

ETHAN ALLEN.
From a steel Engraving.

to escape with a whole skin. His Deputy-Governor, Walter Barefoot, and Mason kept close at Barefoot's house on Great Island, which Cranfield had made the capital of the province. But their retirement was invaded by two highly respectable landholders, Thomas Wiggin, who craved the satisfaction of giving Mason a thrashing, and Anthony Nutter, whose great size and strength made him a desirable companion. As soon as the four men were together, Wiggin proceeded to carry out his plan, and so successfully that when Barefoot tried to interfere he lost a tooth and had two ribs broken. Nutter merely stood by, ready to keep out any other intruders, while he "almost died a-laughing."

In the midst of these personal interpretations of the law, one piece of news followed rapidly upon another—news of the death of Charles II. in 1685; of the coronation of the Catholic Duke of York as James II.; of the new King's Dominion of New England, in which New Hampshire and Massachusetts were placed provisionally under Deputy-Governor Joseph Dudley; and then that Sir Edmund Andros had taken command from the St. Croix to the Delaware, making his capital at Boston and calling to his Council Mason, Randolph, and a certain Royalist, John Hinckes, as representatives for New Hampshire. Barefoot was still Deputy-Governor.

Within three years, when the whole northern border was set ablaze once more by Indian torches, to light the expensive forts that Andros had built and manned in spite of the colonists' protests, the

Dominion of James II. fell to pieces. Robert Mason died, and the old New Hampshire towns, with the small beginnings of several new ones, revived their "Combination" and attached themselves to the reconstructed government of the Bay, with all the zest of a family reunion. But Mason's sons, John and Robert, who had inherited the patents together with the debts and lawsuits of their disappointed father, sold most of their claim to Samuel Allen, a London merchant. For almost half a century he and his heirs pursued the mirage for which Mason had spent his life, with no better success, but with less distress to the people. Believing his purchase to be worth £22,000 a year at threepence the acre quit-rent, and knowing no more of the colonists than many a British landlord knows of his tenants, Allen induced the new sovereigns, William and Mary, to restore the royal government of the province in 1692 and make him Governor, rather than to grant the colonists' petition to remain a part of Massachusetts. The New Englanders never forgave the warlike Prince of Orange for the gross military blunder of making such a break as this in the powerful Bay Colony's willing defence of the whole northern border, when William knew that his war with James's ally, Louis XIV. of France, would open the long-suppressed hostilities between the two nations in America. This small strip of New Hampshire coast had but six thousand colonists, all within a radius of some fifteen miles about Portsmouth Harbour. Their muster-roll was not over seven hundred and fifty names; they had little

trade; fertile farms were in ruins; they had no money and often not food enough for the soldiers in the field. Their one source of wealth was in the shipyards and their many isolated sawmills upon the water highways of the dense forests, which were haunted by their enemies. Such a province was obviously incapable of defending itself. In the past Indian wars, every settlement would probably have been wiped out but for the aid of Massachusetts. Now, it was not only deprived of that aid, without any adequate substitute, but was set off between two portions of the great colony as a lurking place for the enemies. The fords of the Piscataqua at Dover and the Squamscot at Exeter were the gateways of the marauders, as they swept from their strongholds on the Penobscot and the Kennebec, to destroy the settlements of the upper Connecticut and the Merrimac. No former conflict with the natives could compare with these dreadful days, when the brutality and treachery of the savages were whetted by revenge and directed by skilful Frenchmen. With occasional truces, this frightful conflict was kept up in New Hampshire and Maine until the conquest of Canada under George II.

Although the war drained the people's pockets, and caused their stomachs to be empty most of the time, his Majesty deemed it proper to claim the best trees in their magnificent forests for the royal navy, sending officers to stamp the "royal" or "mast" pines with the King's broad arrow, to cut them as they were wanted for shipment, and to punish any settlers who interfered. The lumber merchants and

their sawyers resented this appropriation of the resources of their livelihood, and many a dark deed was done in the depths of the coveted forests. From that time, the great trade in lumber for masts and in such naval stores as tar, pitch, and turpentine, which were made from the trees, was wholly confined to Great Britain. The small trade in lumber and fish went to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies; and in winter many vessels carried English and West India goods along the coasts to the ports of the southerly colonies, returning with corn and pork. There was little manufacture in the province; sheep were too scarce for wool, and machinery was too expensive to work the iron ore that had been found.

Allen was Governor for six years, but passed barely a twelvemonth in the country, leaving everything to his son-in-law and Deputy-Governor, John Usher. That rich bookseller of Boston was connected with the province in this and other ways during more than twenty years ; he was a faithful friend in peace and in war, generously excusing the payment of his salary in hard times, but steadfastly hated as much for his petty, irritating manners as for his relations with Allen, on whose claim he finally laid a mortgage. Usher was at length replaced by one of the colonists, William Partridge, a popular shipwright of Portsmouth, who had "extraordinary American genius and a political turn of mind." But the settlers' own brother became hateful as soon as he began to obey the instructions of proprietor and King.

In 1699, another change started the custom

whereby for nearly half of the eighteenth century New Hampshire was afflicted still further by the authority of the royal Governor of Massachusetts. Lord Bellomont was placed over these provinces, together with New York and New Jersey. He made one brief visit, recommended impossibilities for three weeks, and pocketed a grant of £500, although it was a clear half of all that the people could raise in a year, and in spite of the fact that the Assembly had previously denied the Boston bookseller his bare travelling expenses for three years of devoted and practical attention.

The cry about preserving the royal timber had become a political job in the Privy Council. Bellomont protested against lumber merchants for lieutenant-governors. He wrote the Board of Trade: "I take it to be the chiefest part of the trust and business of the lieutenant-governor of this province to preserve the woods for the King's use"; and "it is no more fit to commit that duty to a millwright than to set a wolf to keep sheep." He found such "a prodigious havoc of the woods" that he feared "in two or three years all trees that are near water carriage will be cut up."

John Bridger, who came over with him to inspect New England's possibilities in the way of naval supplies, wrote that after he had been "two years preparing trees in the woods near Piscataqua to the number of several thousand for the making of tar for his Majesty's service, he found them nearly all burned, to the loss of nearly a thousand barrels of tar." Bridger was soon made Surveyor-General

of the Woods in New England, with powers that he used unsparingly over the rebellious lumbermen and sawyers, until they sent to England such proofs of his official corruption that he was restrained.

When Queen Anne took the throne in 1702, she appointed Joseph Dudley Governor over Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Then Partridge was displaced by Usher, who was again Deputy-Governor for nearly a dozen unhappy years.

Meantime lawsuits for rent or possession had been brought by Allen, but to no purpose. He was not the man to distress the people as Mason had done, and moreover the papers on which the proprietary claim rested had been hopelessly mutilated during the rebellion against James II. Allen died in 1705, just as the colonists had decided to compromise with him. His son Thomas kept up the claims for the twelve years of his life, and passed them on to his son, although he was defeated again and again in the most celebrated of all the trials and appeals brought against the settlers.

Hated as Dudley was by his own brethren in the Bay, he made himself popular on the Piscataqua by what the settlers considered his good management of the Indian troubles during the fearful times of Queen Anne's War, but still more by his opposition to the proprietors and to Usher, whom he disparaged in England. To the Secretary of State he once enclosed a letter from Major Richard Waldron, calling Usher an "envious, malicious liar." The Governor wrote that though the language "is too harsh" the statement "is true." Usher, for his

part, complained "when at any time I come into the Council, if Waldron is there before me, with disdain has his back sometime to me, and at a distance says *your servant*, with insulting deportment, affronts, many and great, with disrespect to the Queen's Commission." Dudley praised the province to the home government, saying that it raised more public funds in proportion than the Bay. He

THE VAUGHN HOUSE, PORTSMOUTH, BUILT ABOUT 1640.
Redrawn from an old Print.

said, "I count New Hampshire is in value of men, towns, and acres, just a tenth part of the Massachusetts, and I believe I do not misreckon to a hundredth part, their trade excepted, which will not make much more than a thirtieth part of Boston and dependencies." George Vaughn, a successful lumber merchant then agent for the province in England, said it had but six towns, the two new ones, Newcastle and Kingston, "very small and extraordinary poor." All the people, he said, were "drove to great straits by reason of the war, there not being a thousand men in the whole government." It was said that every Indian killed during Queen Anne's

War cost the country £1000. But the conflicts trained both men and women from childhood to a certain military skill combined with the peculiar craft of the Indians, and prepared a race of scouts and sharsphooters who played an important part in the victory over the French half a century later.

After Queen Anne's death in 1714 and the coronation of George I., the people appealed in vain to have Dudley retained and that Usher "may have his quietus," saying, "he complains his office is a burden to him, and the people think it is a burden to them, and so 't is a pity but both were eased." But Dudley was displaced by Samuel Shute, who for six years governed New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Usher, too, was superseded for the first two years by George Vaughn, who, although one of the leading lumber merchants, preserved the King's woods too well to please his compatriots. On the other hand, he was soon in hot water with Shute and with the Lords of Trade. The chief concern of these days was the scarcity of money and everything that stood for money. Here, as in the other colonies, the trouble was caused by the French and Indian wars. The nominal peace made by the Treaty of Utrecht the year before Queen Anne's death brought the colonists face to face with their debts. After a general wrangle between Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and House of Deputies, the distressed province was laid under the burden of an issue of £15,000 in bills of credit at ten per cent. interest.

But a new day broke with the appointment of

OLD MANTEL IN THE COUNCIL-CHAMBER OF WENTWORTH HALL.

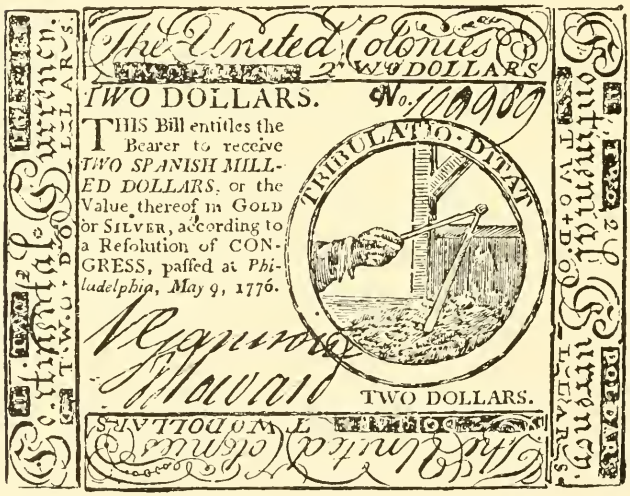
Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth, a grandson of one of the first settlers of Exeter, and a rich, self-made sea-captain and merchant of Portsmouth, who had been a Councillor and a Justice. He was known far and wide as "a fair and generous dealer," a "gentleman of good natural abilities much improved by conversation; remarkably civil and kind to strangers; . . . a lover of good men of all denominations; . . . bountiful to the poor." He was the man for the time; and from the year 1717 to his death in 1730, he fostered his colony's prosperity. His administration covered that of Governor Shute and the fourteen months' term of Governor William Burnet,— who was appointed when George II. became King, but scarcely saw the province,—and ended in the first year of the long and quarrelsome governorship of the unpopular son of Massachusetts, Jonathan Belcher. A successful merchant captain himself, Wentworth was able to develop the resources of his long-repressed country, to advance the trade in lumber, naval stores, and other familiar materials, and to give impetus to several new industries. But his greatest service was in extending the province, which for almost a hundred years had remained confined to the narrow strip some fifteen miles broad about the mouth of the Piscataqua and adjacent coast. The growing families had long been cramped for land, yet fearful of obtaining title outside of the towns, though they claimed that the province and their rights extended to the Pacific, or "as far westward as anyone could go."

With passive jealousy they had seen their western frontier invaded by what they considered the trespass of the Massachusetts people, who boldly built a trading fort at Watanic, afterward called the Queen's Garrison, making the beginning of Nashua, the centre of a large fur-trade and a protection for a steady stream of venturesome settlers. Indignation was more openly expressed when Massachusetts gave a grant in the Merrimac Valley to " a parcel of Irish "—several families of that brave Presbyterian stock which Cromwell had transplanted from Scotland to the north of Ireland, and which hatred of George I. and love of the Stuarts had uprooted and driven across the ocean to strike deep into the soil of the Thirteen Colonies. Wentworth was equal to the occasion created by the feeling of the people, by a short breathing-space in the wars which by this time had reduced the savages of the inland country, and by the failure of the fifth generation of the proprietors, whose supreme efforts to establish their claims only shattered them as they fell to minor heirs. He courageously assumed the right to grant new townships for his province in the name of the King " as far as in us lies." Sons of old families shared his courage, took the grants, and moved into the virgin country to lay their own hearthstones, set up their " lug-poles,"—for cranes were scarcely known there until after the middle of the century,—and found families of their own. " Fuel was at their doors for the chopping, pine-knots answered for candles. The rivers teemed with shad, salmon, and trout; deer and bear wandered in the neighbouring

forests; the virgin soil yielded wonderful harvests," so that "with prudence, foresight and extraordinary exertion" the solitary settler could make the wilderness provide for his family during the long winter months, when "wolves lean and hungry might howl about their safely barred windows" and doors. The Bible and the New England Primer might form their well-read library, but tradition was a never-failing source of interest to them. Cattle, sheep, and other domestic animals bearing the owner's mark ran at large. These settlements were usually made on the hills rather than in the valleys, not only because elevated clearings could be the better protected by a stockade and guard-houses, but because the English had learned by this time, it is said, that the savages when not on the war-path would not leave their trails along the river banks to do malicious injury. The settlements rapidly became towns, holding annual meetings under a moderator, the freeholders electing their own town clerk, treasurer, selectmen or "townsmen," constables, fence-viewers, field-drivers or "haywards," surveyors of highways and of lumber, sealers of weights and measures, sellers of leather, tithing-men, deer-reeves or deer-keepers (there was an early law to preserve the forest game), hog-reeves, pound-keepers, overseers of the poor, and overseers of houses of correction.

After opening the province to his own people, Wentworth was not afraid to welcome strangers, even Scotch-Irish. He gave a company of them guarded permission to settle what they afterward

called the town of Londonderry, which soon grew to rank next in size to Portsmouth. These good people, who brought to New England the Virginia potato, which Sir Walter Raleigh had introduced into Ireland, also brought flax and started linen-making. Their pleasant homes and profitable in-



dustry attracted their friends, who came by hundreds to the new country, where a man could obtain all the land he wanted for a web of his own linen cloth. They soon pressed over the hills to the Falls of the Amoskeag, up the Merrimac, even to the intervales of Pennacook and the fields of Epsom.

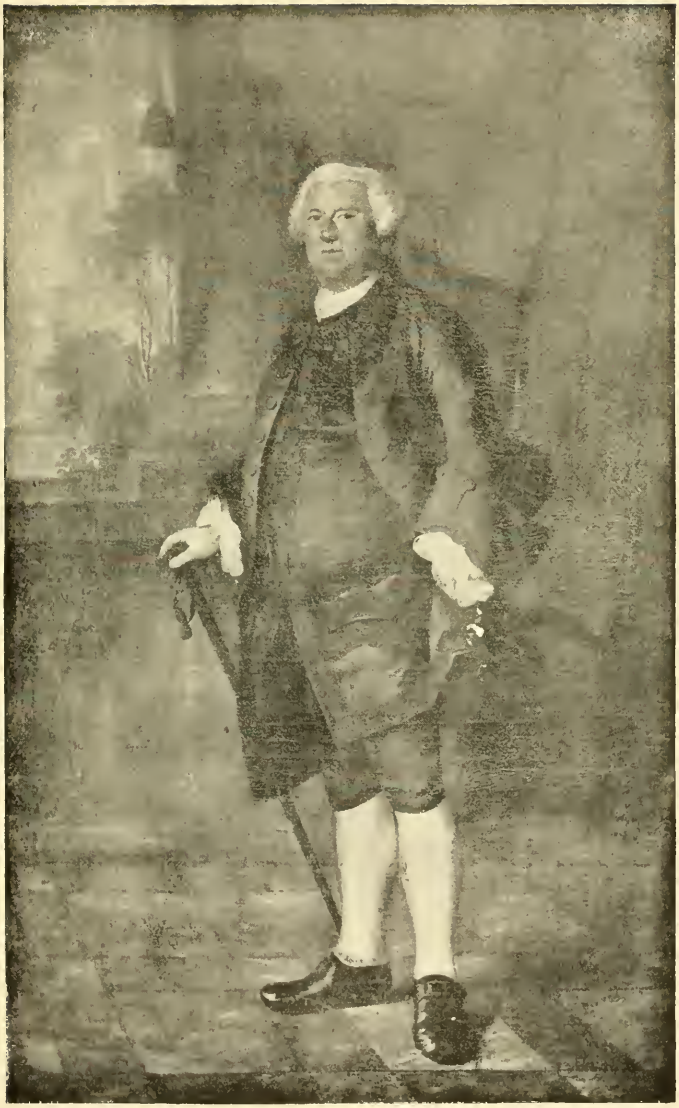
All improvements were checked for a time by the fiendish Indian depredations of what is known as Ludwell's War; but when that was quelled, in 1725, streams of pioneers from New Hampshire, from

Massachusetts, and from New York surged into the beautiful mountain region which was claimed by the three provinces; the settler from each asserting the authority of his own jurisdiction and quarrelling even to blood-spilling over the "presumptions of his rivals."

The death of George I. (June, 1727) dissolved an Assembly which had been in existence five years; altogether too long, the people said. The new Assembly promptly passed acts, which were in effect a constitution, limiting the life of assemblies to three years; debarring from it all men not having property of £300 value, and giving the right to vote to all persons, residents or not, who possessed a freehold property of £50 within the province. The demand of his new Majesty, George II., to fix the magistrates' salaries was conceded so far as to fix for three years or during Governor Burnet's administration a salary of £200 sterling, or its equivalent, £600 in bills of credit, one third of which was to be taken out for Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth. But after about a year, the records tell another story concerning Governor Belcher. He demanded that Wentworth should look to him and not to the Assembly for his salary; and when his proposition was declined, he removed Wentworth's son and son-in-law from lucrative offices. The Lieutenant-Governor's death in the midst of the trouble roused a considerable faction against the Governor, while others took Belcher's side in a bitter party war. Term after term, for six years, the Assembly "obstinately refused" to order the payment of his salary

and other moneys to pass through his hands; for which he suffered much, but not in silence. He and his party were soon accused of trying to annex the province to Massachusetts, which was not desired, as in earlier times. For ten years after John Wentworth's death, Major David Dunbar of the British army was Lieutenant-Governor and Surveyor-General of the King's Woods. He took the Wentworths' side in the quarrel against Belcher, which merely added one more source of spite to his unhappy position. In the midst of these tempests, the Assembly's London agent, the admirable merchant John Tomlinson, presented the complaints of the "poor little distressed Province of New Hampshire" against the encroachments of the "vast, opulent, overgrown Province of the Massachusetts," until George II. in Council decided (March 5, 1740) on the present southern and eastern boundaries. The western limit was still the South Sea. By this decision the Massachusetts people lost not only all their encroachments, but over seven hundred square miles which New Hampshire had not expected to receive, valuable, well-timbered, well-watered country in which many townships had been settled by hardy Massachusetts pioneers, who were ill pleased to find themselves under New Hampshire. Nothing succeeds like success. The prayers for Belcher's removal were answered, and after forty years the province again had a separate Governor; not a proprietor, like Allen, but the son of their beloved Lieutenant-Governor.

In 1741, Benning Wentworth began a term of



GOVERNOR BENNING WENTWORTH.

twenty-four years, immediately checking another grievance by buying Dunbar's commission as Surveyor of the Woods for the pretty sum of £2000 sterling. Although a man of many eccentricities, often maintaining long quarrels with the Assembly, and not above using his office to benefit himself and his friends, Benning Wentworth rapidly advanced the province in the direction opened by his father. Local history figures him as living "as fortunate and splendid a life as any gentleman of his time in the New World"; making a mansion out of the old family house which still stands at Little Harbour, with its Council-Chamber,—whither he called the Council to meet him,—and with the racks for the twelve guns carried by the Governor's Guard.

The action of the Story of the Colonies moved swiftly in Benning Wentworth's term; and his province was usually in the van. In King George's war with France over the Austrian Succession, it was said that the losses felt by New Hampshire interests in the Newfoundland fisheries prompted George Vaughn to suggest the capture of Louisbourg, which was undertaken by Massachusetts in the spring of 1745. The New Hampshire Assembly contributed five hundred men, one eighth of all their "males of military age," and issued their first paper-money, to the extent of £1300. They had no good genius like Hutchinson in Massachusetts to force them to use the £30,000 sterling which was their share of his Majesty's reimbursement towards redeeming their credit. Finances were in a bad way. The Assembly quarrelled with the Governor

on almost every issue. Business was neglected, soldiers were unpaid and suffering, and what then seemed most alarming of all, young Mason, who had agreed six years before to sell his entire claim, tired of waiting on the Assembly's broken promises of payment. He found other purchasers in a company of twelve men, who immediately turned the old hatred into good-will by quit-claiming the four original towns and twelve others since settled. In the coveted western country they granted all that emigrants would occupy, free of quit-rents, reserving certain tracts to themselves in each plantation, and only requiring that ministers and schools be provided, mills, roads, and meeting-houses be built within stated times. Allen's heirs protested and Usher presented his mortgage, but they all subsided after it was clear that the company would not try to buy them off. Wentworth believed that New York could maintain no title east of the longitude of the Massachusetts and Connecticut boundary; and after advising the government that he wished to be acquainted with their boundary, he boldly granted the parcel of land since called Bennington, now in Vermont — the beginning of the famous contest over the "New Hampshire grants." During the next four years Wentworth granted over thirty townships, which were rapidly settled but deserted in terror when the marauding of the French Indians was renewed in the summer of 1754, which gave this province the signal for the final struggle, with its six years of costly preparations, maddening delays, and desperate fighting. The fame of the New Hamp-

PARLOUR OF WENTWORTH MANSION, IN WHICH GOVERNOR BENNING WENTWORTH WAS MARRIED TO MARTHA HILTON.

shire rangers led Lord Loudon to organise three companies of them; and it was said "No Indian camp was secure against them in the bitterest night or the thickest wood; no French intrenchments could depend upon their scouts for warning of their stealthy and swift approach." Wentworth wrote to the Secretary of State:

"The danger of becoming slaves of France has at length raised a spirit, and it appears to be almost universal, equal to the ancient Romans. Out of the three hundred men I have raised in the Province, not a man can be marked out but substantial farmers and freeholders, who engage upon no other principles but to secure freedom and happiness to their posterity."

"To New Hampshire," says Palfrey, "even more than to any other community of New England the conquest of Canada was an event of the most joyful significance. Her settlements had never known assured repose since their earliest day. For more than eighty years, since [the time of] the fugitives from Philip's War . . . they had been kept poor by the interruptions and discouragements of industry as well as by the expenses of war."

After the conquest, settlers went back to the abandoned townships, and Governor Wentworth was besieged for further grants. The western campaigns had opened up the country between the Connecticut and Lake Champlain. Many a brave ranger was glad to take his pay in the wild land of that beautiful region; and within the next decade Wentworth granted some hundred and fifty townships, in

each of which he prudently reserved five hundred acres for himself. Into this rich country poured streams of enterprising, thrifty families from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York. Suddenly, in 1763, Lieutenant-Governor Colden of New York proclaimed his jurisdiction over the country north of Massachusetts and west of the river Connecticut. Wentworth wrote to Lord Halifax:

"A number of armed men, attended by the patroon and High Sheriff of Albany, seized upon and carried off from Pownall a justice of the peace, a captain of the militia, a deputy-sheriff who was executing a legal process; with one other principal inhabitant."

The New Hampshire leaders, who had long since buried their own quarrels, fought their powerful rival as one man. The Privy Council at length decided in favour of New York; surveyors and new settlers assumed possession; but the language of the decree was open to two opposite constructions, and the border war went on, authorities, grantees, and settlers hotly disputing every inch of the way.

These troubles were at their height when greater ones began to thicken between the colonies and the mother-country. From the first, New Hampshire resented the parliamentary taxation. The collector appointed after the Stamp Act of 1763 resigned as soon as he learned the disposition of the people. Governor Wentworth having received no official orders to enforce the act, let the first of November go by, although he suppressed an attempt to close the courts rather than comply with it. He was

THE NOTCH HOUSE, WHITE MOUNTAINS.

then an old man, who had bettered his own fortunes and those of the province by a long administration, from which he quietly withdrew after his Assembly had adopted the measures of the Stamp Act Congress.

JOHN WENTWORTH, LAST ROYAL GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Wentworth, the old Governor's nephew, arrived from England in the spring of 1767, and, by devoting himself to the rapid development of the province, especially in agriculture, succeeded in drawing the people's attention for a time from their grievances against the home government. In 1770, Dartmouth College was established at Hanover, after twelve years of uphill work by the Congregational ministers of the province. New roads were built, and the wildest of the western country penetrated by an old Indian pass known as the White Mountain Notch.

But nothing could long divert the colonists from the inevitable conflict. They refused to receive the

tea-ships, signed the non-importation agreement, and sent relief to Boston when the harbour was closed by the Port Bill. As the situation became more threatening, they appointed a Committee of Safety, stripped Fort George at Portsmouth of its defences, placing the ammunition in a secure hiding-place, and set themselves to rigid economy in daily life, in order to lay in stores of gunpowder and provide defences. Veteran officers of the French war raised troops, and led regiments of rangers to the camp of the Continental Army at Cambridge. At the battle of Bunker Hill, they numbered nearly two thirds of the American forces.

In May, 1775, a convention met at Exeter and appointed a Committee of Safety vested with the executive power of the province. This led to the selection of Exeter as the capital of both province and state. In January, 1776, the people adopted a written constitution, "a Form of Government to continue during the unhappy and unnatural Contest with Great Britain"; and this was replaced in 1784 by a State constitution.

CHAPTER XI

NEW YORK, FOURTH COLONY — THE DUTCH BEGINNINGS

THE plantation which probably ranks fourth among the Thirteen Colonies was made by Dutchmen, in the temperate middle portion of the seaboard, at the "very great river" noted by Verrazano. This was the natural focus of colonial enterprise, so tempting that it was not half a century before the English seized it and created out of it the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and, it may be said, Pennsylvania and Delaware as well.

Although French, Spaniards, and Dutch alike claimed to have visited the river before the seventeenth century, the true discovery was made in 1609 by Henry Hudson, an Englishman, seeking a western passage to the Indies for the Dutch East India Company, then the greatest commercial corporation in Europe. The English already possessed Jamestown in South Virginia, and their first Pemaquid in North Virginia; the Spaniards held Florida at St. Augustine, and the French were at

Quebec and other places on the river and gulf of St. Lawrence — all more or less in danger of destruction, when Hudson's report of the unoccupied middle region fired the enthusiasm of the merchants of the Low Countries. They were abundantly supplied with Capital, ships, and mariners provided for the mighty effort by which the Netherlands freed themselves from their long bondage to Spain. It is asserted that a party came over before the close of 1610, and built two factories or trading posts and log huts, sheltered by redoubts, at the head of the harbour, one at the end of the land of the Manahattas or Island Tribe, and another opposite, on the rocky hills across the Great River of the Mountains, in what is now New Jersey.

In 1611, Hendrick Christaensen of Cleves and Adriaen Block, with Captain Ryser, confirmed Hudson's reports, and showed their astonished countrymen a rich cargo of peltries and two sons of native chiefs, whom they called Valentine and Orson. In 1613, Christaensen and Block returned, and the next year at least three trading vessels came out from Amsterdam and Hoorn. By this time there was certainly a factory on the end of the Manahattas' land. Some say that Christaensen, on his tenth voyage to the river, went about one hundred

THE "HALF MOON" ON THE HUDSON, 1609.

From a Painting by L. W. Seavey.

and thirty miles up-stream in the spring, and on Castle Island, near the mouth of the Mohawk River, built a small fort, or rebuilt one abandoned by the French. This he called Fort Nassau, in honour of the Stadtholder of the Republic, Maurice, Count of Nassau and Prince of Orange, for whom the great Noordt or North River was also called Mauritius. The States-General, claiming the region between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels, gave a charter for three years from January, 1615, to the United New Netherland Company — in the same month that the English prince, afterwards King Charles I., named New England.

Some of the New Netherland Company's voyagers and traders went to the Zuyde or South Bay, which the English called the Delaware. Others followed up Block's discoveries, through the East River to what he called Versche or Fresh Water, in place of the Indian name Connecticut. The most important part of the expedition went up the Hudson to Fort Nassau, then in charge of Jacob Elkins. They heard that the French had been there before them, coming down from the St. Lawrence by way of Lake Champlain, and were still seeking the Iroquois trade. Perhaps it was true—though some historians doubt it — that the French leader Champlain had made relentless enemies of the Iroquois by joining the Hurons in a hostile expedition against the Five Nations, and killing their warriors before their eyes by the magic of the strange, smoke-emitting stick he carried. At any rate the Iroquois welcomed the Dutch, promising them the freedom of their vast

hunting-grounds, which abounded in ermine, mink, otter, beaver, and other peltries of great value in European markets, if the Dutch would but supply them with guns, powder, and shot to cope with the French weapons of their enemies, the northern nations. Unlike other Europeans, the Dutch had no visions of conquering or converting the natives. Seeking simply to build up a great peltry business, Elkins struck an honest friendship which served both sides worthily. When Fort Nassau was destroyed by a flood, he built another stronghold on the mainland at the mouth of what is now Norman's Kill, called Noordtman's by the Dutch, and by the Indians Tawasentha, "the place of many dead."

On the small hill of Tawassgunshee, overlooking the Great River,

> "In the Vale of Tawasentha,
> In the green and silent valley,
> By the pleasant water-courses,"

Elkins made a treaty with the Iroquois for mutual protection and trade, the latter consisting chiefly in the exchange of guns and ammunition for the red men's peltries. It was the first treaty between Europeans and the American Indians, and was always respected by both sides. Without it, the French would undoubtedly have taken the Hudson watershed not only from the Dutch but from the English, who after half a century secured the province and the Iroquois alliance.

All Dutch enterprise was soon checked by home troubles. After the rights of the New Netherland

Company expired in 1618, little more was done than to hold the posts and the trade as they were, until in 1621, after the imprisonment of Grotius and the beheading of Barneveldt, the States-General chartered the Dutch West India Company, which had a capital equal, it has been said, to at least twenty-five million dollars in our day. They endowed it with almost unlimited powers, only forbidding the employment of its soldiers, except by special permission from the home government, against the subjects of any nation at peace with the United Provinces. This tied the Dutchmen's hands when the English invaded their borders — although the States-General had pledged themselves to defend the Company's rights and territories with a standing army if necessary, and to send an admiral and fleet in case of war. The Company had Boards or Chambers in the five principal cities of the United Provinces, each of which was assigned its own field of enterprise. The executive power for all was vested in the famous Assembly of Nineteen, which was made up of eighteen delegates from the different boards and one from the States-General.

New Netherland, claimed from the Versche or Connecticut to the Zuyde or South River, was placed under the care of the Amsterdam Chamber, which in the spring of 1622 formally took possession of the country. England in after years asserted that James I. had treated this as a trespass, and sent notice through his ambassadors to the States-General to stay their operations on British territory. Whoever claims the country, it is unoccupied, said

the wise merchants of the Amsterdam Chamber, as quietly and quickly they sent Captain Cornelius Jacobsen Mey to breast the March gales of 1623, with about thirty families of pious and industrious French-speaking Protestants or Walloons of Southern Belgium, well provided so that they might take firm root at once. At the mouth of the Hudson he and his colonists met a French vessel on the same errand; but she was soon chased through the Narrows by an armed yacht that came down from Fort Nassau. The Walloon families, with three other shiploads that arrived after a few months, were settled at different places; some on Staaten Island, others on Manhattan Island, and perhaps near the redoubt on the west bank opposite; some on Long Island at "Waelenbogt" or Walloon Bay, which we call Wallabout. Some say that a party was taken to the Versche River and built the first houses in what is now Connecticut. The greater part of the company was divided between the South River and the North River. Where Albany now stands, a few miles from Elkins's Fort Nassau, eighteen families cleared farms and built Fort Orange upon scientific plans. The Indians helped them put up huts of bark, which were replaced after their rude sawmills began to turn out lumber to make comfortable little one-story houses, each with two rooms on the ground floor, a garret, and a thatched roof. They were scantily furnished, with the great chest for the family treasures, the "sleeping bench," and precious feather bed, while logs and stumps from the forest served for chairs, tables, and sideboards. Captain

Mey himself took a company to the South Bay, building another Fort Nassau, near where Gloucester, New Jersey, stands. They were in the nick of time to drive out the French whom they had met in the Hudson. This was long an important fur-trading station, and apparently the residence of Director William Verhulst, who succeeded Mey for a year.

Meantime a friendly alliance was made between Holland and England, under which the Amsterdam Chamber felt secure in giving rein to their undertaking. The States-General granted New Netherland a seal, placing it on a level with the provinces of the Republic. De Laet, one of the Company's directors, published his *Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte Beschrvvinghe van West Indien*, through the Leyden publisher, Elzevir. The Company promised its powerful protection to people of every religion at a time when toleration was practically unknown except in the Netherlands, and offered to send out worthy colonists, especially families, for a ridiculously small passage price. The Dutch merchants did not blight their infant enterprise by bigotry, by parsimony, or by the common notion that any kind of men were good enough to ship off to the American wilderness. They provided a shelter for the suffering Christians of all names from every nation in Europe, advancing them means sufficient to allow the most rapid and permanent growth for a greater commercial enterprise than the world had ever seen. Besides the Amsterdam Chamber and the West India Company as a whole, many directors sent out

colonists and supplies on their own account. Director Peter Evertsen Hulft alone sent out a shipload of emigrants, escorted by an armed sloop furnished by the States-General, and two other ships with cattle, hogs, and sheep, so well cared for that only two died on the passage.

Another shipload of families went out in the depths of winter, 1624, with the first and best of the four regular Directors-General of the province. Peter Minuit, in six years of almost absolute authority, assisted by a council of five of the leading colonists, organised a peaceful and prosperous state of about three hundred souls in half a dozen settlements, forming, some say, the wide circuit from the head of what is now Delaware Bay to Albany, to Hartford, to Brooklyn, the end of Manhattan Island, Staten Island, and the neighbouring shore. The second officer, the Koopman, was secretary, bookkeeper, and general storekeeper in charge of goods provided for the people and of the peltries, timber, and other merchandise which made up the cargoes shipped to Holland, to the English settlements along the coast, and to the West Indies. The Schout-fiscal performed the divers duties of attorney-general, procurator, sheriff, and supervisor of customs, besides acting as beadle or tithing-man on Sundays.

It was ordered that all land for the settlement should be purchased fairly of the Indians, and one of Minuit's first duties was to buy Manhattan Island for the Company. On a low hill at the southern end of this island he threw up earthworks, and surrounded them by a palisade of cedar logs to guard

EARLIEST VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

the settlement of about thirty small log cabins, extending along the water-front where the East River widens into the bay. It was named New Amsterdam, and declared the capital of New Netherland. Substantial building was begun from quarries opened in the convenient outcropping of "Manhattan stone." First came the Company's warehouse, a large, square structure with crow-step and gable roof, such as Dutchmen built at home; but the roof was thatched with reeds. Part of the ground floor was given up to all sorts of supplies for the people, the first corner store of New York. A grist-mill, run by a horse, was soon built with a tower for some Spanish bells, captured at Puerto Rico, which called the people to the mill loft on Sundays for prayers. The worshippers sat on rude benches, listening to the creed and the Scriptures, read by their Ziekentrooster, or visitor of the sick, who was a sort of lay-reader in charge of the people's spiritual welfare until the arrival of Jonas Michaelius, the first dominie of New Netherland. Large farms or "boweries" were laid out in the meadows along the East River, stocked with horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and swine, and planted with fruit trees and gardens. While for the first few years the Company held all the land, each colonist was allowed to take up his own plot, till it, hold it, or exchange it, as a life-tenant. Each had his own cabin and his cows, and was free to increase his estate by industry on his own acres and in his service to the Company as trader, warehouseman, stevedore, farmer, or skilled mechanic.

Minuit learned from the Indians of the English settlement on New Plymouth Harbour, and in March, 1627, he wrote to Governor Bradford a courteous letter in Dutch and French, seeking "friendly kindness and neighbourhood," with "mutual good-will and service," and making suggestions for their common interest in trade with the Indians. Bradford's reply offered his "testimony of love," with a reminder that the patents of his sovereign, King James, to the Council for New England extended to the fortieth parallel, over which the Dutch had no right "either to plant or to trade"; while he made special request that they should keep their vessels out of the Narragansetts' Bay. Minuit rejoined that his right to trade and plant was on the authority of the States-General; but as Governor Bradford suggested talking the matter over, he sent as his representative the accomplished young merchant and secretary of the Dutch colony, Isaac de Rasières. No better ambassador could have been chosen to command the admiration and respect of the English settlers, who had lived many years in De Rasières's country, and could address him in his own language. They paid him the attentions due to his position and breeding; they protested neighbourly love and willingness to trade, while they made but guarded acknowledgment of his friendly spirit and of the valuable information he gave them concerning, among other matters, the wampum or shell-money, made by a few Indians and desired by many, which the Dutch had adopted for their currency. Outcasts

from their nation though they were, the Pilgrims held the English attitude towards North America, and coldly returned the Dutchmen's overtures with advice to clear their title. Minuit promptly reported the encounter to Holland, and the States-General sent him a command of forty soldiers, the first standing army on the soil of the Thirteen Colonies.

As the Mohicans and Mohawks supplied the most valuable skins to the Dutchmen's trade, the best of everything was chosen for Fort Orange, which was altogether the largest and most prosperous settlement of the province, until 1626, when the commissary of the fort rashly agreed to join a Mohican expedition against the Mohawks. He and three of his men were killed, while the whole colony was saved only by Minuit's haste to explain to the Mohawks that the commissary had disobeyed orders in violating the Treaty of Tawasentha. The settlers fled to New Amsterdam. It is said that the families on the South River and the Connecticut were also taken to the capital, and that none but the garrisons were left to hold the trading posts for two years, until the Mohawks drove the Mohicans across the mountains to a corner of the Pequot country on the Dutch side of the Connecticut River.

During these two years, when all the colonists were gathered at New Amsterdam, there was some sickness and want; but it was then that the little town became the chief port and most prosperous village in America before it was six years old. One vessel carried to Holland peltries and timber to the value

of forty-five thousand guilders—nearly nineteen thousand dollars, equal perhaps to ten times as much in our day. Some samples of "summer grain" harvested by the colonists included wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans, and flax. So many great trees were felled—the largest the Dutchmen had ever seen—that they could not find means to ship them all to the treeless fatherland. They set up sawmills and shipyards, soon turning out a craft of eight hundred tons, then one of the largest merchant-ships in the world.

Yet some of the directors in Holland complained that the province ought to be made to pay better; and in 1629 they devised a plan whereby it did worse. The States-General was induced to grant a charter of "Privileges and Exemptions," authorising the Assembly of Nineteen to deed away any of the Company's title except Manhattan Island, in what they called patrooneries, making any director a "patroon" or lord absolute of as much land as he chose to buy of the Indians, if within four years he planted a colony of fifty people over fifteen years of age. Patroons were required to supply their settlers with ministers and schoolmasters, but forbidden to touch the Company's trade in peltries and guns, to weave stuffs of linen and cotton, or otherwise to interfere with the Low Countries' industries; they were obliged to buy their negroes of the Company, besides having to enter and clear all their cargoes at New Amsterdam. Yet such opportunities for individual enterprise had never been known as were included in the powers granted over large

tracts of fur-bearing land not covered by the Company's agents, and in the inducements offered to mine for precious ores, to develop the lumber trade, and to start new manufactures. Some of these phlegmatic Dutchmen were buying up the country before the charter had left the States-General, creating the first "land boom" in America; and no western speculator ever handled his thousand-acre plots with more confidence. The first lands snapped up were on the South Bay, where Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert erected their patroonery of Zwanendael, the Valley of Swans. Their one settlement, soon destroyed, was the first in what is now Delaware. Michael Paauw appropriated Staaten Island and the adjacent mainland now covered by several cities of New Jersey, naming it Pavonia. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a rich diamond merchant of Amsterdam, took up what was destined to be the greatest patroonery, his agents buying on both sides of the Hudson the heart of the most beautiful, the most fruitful, and the richest trading country of the province, now known as the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, and Columbia. With generous foresight, he offered many inducements to tenants, and furnished them with all they needed to make their homes in the wilderness and start their industries under the protection of strong fortifications in the first settlement of Rensselaerswyck.

Although colonies were planted at once by each of the great patroons, they soon showed much less interest in peopling the country with villages having ministers and schoolmasters than in establishing

fur-trading posts at every desirable point not occupied by the Company at the time that the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions was issued. When the Company's agents objected, the patroons' men defended their position with *steenstucken*, the Dutch stone guns. The Company soon appealed to the States-General, which ordered the largest patentees to share their grants with others, and cut down the privileges so that no patroon could own more than four miles frontage on navigable rivers and eight miles inland, nor could he set up trading stations outside of his own land. But to try to reconcile the patroons' interests with those of the Company was to mix oil and water. Led by the great Van Rensselaer, the owners of these vast estates pushed their trade and maintained almost sovereign independence, while their families prepared to come over and live in lordly style, creating a strongly defined aristocracy.

Minuit seems to have been clear-headed, unselfish, and loyal to the Company; yet within a few months he was charged with favouring the patroons and was displaced by Van Rensselaer's kinsman, Wouter van Twiller; but for some reason the colony was allowed to thrive under the management of its own Council until 1633. Then Van Twiller came out, and for four years unblushingly gave the patroons whatever aid he could spare from his own interests. He arrived in a Dutch boat for the New Netherland navy, bringing one hundred and four soldiers to add to the standing army, with two Spanish caravels in tow that had been captured on the way. With him

were Adam Roelandsen, a schoolmaster, and the second dominie of the New Amsterdam colony, Everardus Bogardus, whose finger was in all secular affairs for the next fifteen years. Bogardus is remembered while many a better man is forgotten, chiefly because he was nearly the Director's equal at a drinking bout, a quarrel, or a real estate speculation, and because he married the widow Anneke Jans, whose heirs to this day claim the farm left her by her first husband, which is now part of the Trinity Church property.

Roelandsen, the schoolmaster, found leisure in his profession to take in washing, or perhaps to superintend a large *bleekerij*, or bleachery, in which men did every well-to-do housewife's annual or semi-annual washing. Captain David Petersen de Vries soon made his entrance into the free and easy company at the little fort. He had brought more settlers for Zwanendael, but as that settlement had been destroyed "by mere jangling with the Indians," he placed his people on Staaten Island and up the Hudson in what he called Vriesandael.

Under the Company's orders to improve the capital, with a cargo of negro slaves stolen from Africa, the Director opened lime and brick yards, built a guard-house and barracks for the soldiers, replaced the horse-mill with windmills to grind the grain, rebuilt the fort and erected within it a wooden church and a fine brick residence for himself which outlasted Dutch rule in the land. Van Twiller made his country-seat on the Company's Bowerie No. 1, which extended almost across the island above the town, and held, besides the mansion, five dwellings

for the blacksmith, the cooper, the corporal, and other servants of the Company, several mills, a boat-house, and a stable for goats. He took Bowerie No. 3 for his tobacco plantation, working it with the Company's slaves under the direction of some Englishmen belonging to a party who had captured Fort Nassau on the South River, and then had been captured in their turn and taken to New Amsterdam, but dismissed with a lecture.

On the west bank of the Connecticut, Jacob van Curler bought large tracts of land in 1633, and built a fort which he called the "House of Good Hope"; but the English challenged him at once, and soon settled four towns on the same side of the river, checking further Dutch enterprise, although the fort was maintained amid constant quarrels for some twenty years. The Pequots, who made war on the English, were usually devoted to the Dutch, and Van Twiller used his influence with them to rescue two English girls from captivity. This was one good deed to be set down to the credit of a rascal dismissed from office for diverting public money to his own enrichment. He remained in the province, enjoying his fortune, and no doubt infinitely relishing the sight of Company and colonists falling out of the frying-pan into the fire under his successor.

William Kieft, for his hot temper surnamed "the Testy," came out in the spring of 1637, and almost ruined the province in the ten years that followed. To all Van Twiller's vices he added treachery towards the natives, and insisted that as head of the colony he could act without council or courts. With

no one to oppose him or share his fees, he laid taxes and fines, incorporated towns, raised and lowered the value of wampum, declared nearly all business paper invalid without his signature (which meant his fee), and punished resistance even with hanging. Yet he had not the ability to defend the province from the Swedes who took possession on the South Bay in 1638, or from the English who planted New Haven, seized the mouth of the Housatonic River, and made settlements on Long Island.

The last named valuable region, which in the first division of the New England Council had fallen to the Earl of Stirling, was bought by his agent, James Farret, in 1640, and certain parcels sold to New England colonists. Kieft arrested Farret with great parade, but accomplished nothing—partly, perhaps, because he was bound not to fight the subjects of a friendly power without permission from the States-General.

To give him his due, it must be said that he beautified the little capital, planting orchards and encouraging others to do so, until there were about fifty boweries on the island; he straightened the streets, ordered them kept clean, repaired the fort, and replaced the wooden church by a large stone building, with oak shingles. This was paid for in part by the Company and in part by popular subscriptions completed, it is said, at a wedding feast "after the fourth or fifth round of drinking." Less to his credit were his stone tavern near the fort, and a distillery on Staaten Island near his more innocent buckskin factory, and his encouragement to a

tenant at Hobocan who put up the first brewery in what is now New Jersey.

Kieft allowed a plentiful sale of liquor and of guns among the red men, though he knew well that these peaceable neighbours, masters of the invaluable fur-trade, were furious maniacs when excited by liquor. Besides, he overreached them every day in trade, seized lands that he happened to fancy, demanded "maize, furs and service," as tribute for having defended them against their enemies; and at length so severely punished an act of personal vengeance that he brought on a serious war with the Raritans in 1640. Then the patroons and heads of families held a popular meeting and appointed a Council of Twelve, with Captain de Vries as chairman. They made peace; but Kieft dismissed them and soon afterwards aroused nearly all the savages in New Netherland by a treacherous massacre of some of the River tribes near Hackensack, while they were seeking his forgiveness for the lawlessness of some young braves. Almost every tribe in the province joined the avengers. The South River settlers alone were not disturbed. Rensselaerswyck could defend itself. All the other plantations were threatened if not utterly wasted; and for some time the capital was in danger. Kieft, ordering about his little garrisons as if he thought his two hundred and fifty Dutch soldiers could reduce ten times as many savages while he finished his wine at dinner, directed them so badly that they destroyed villages of friendly tribes, few as they were; or waylaid parties seeking the Dutch protection and slew men, women, and

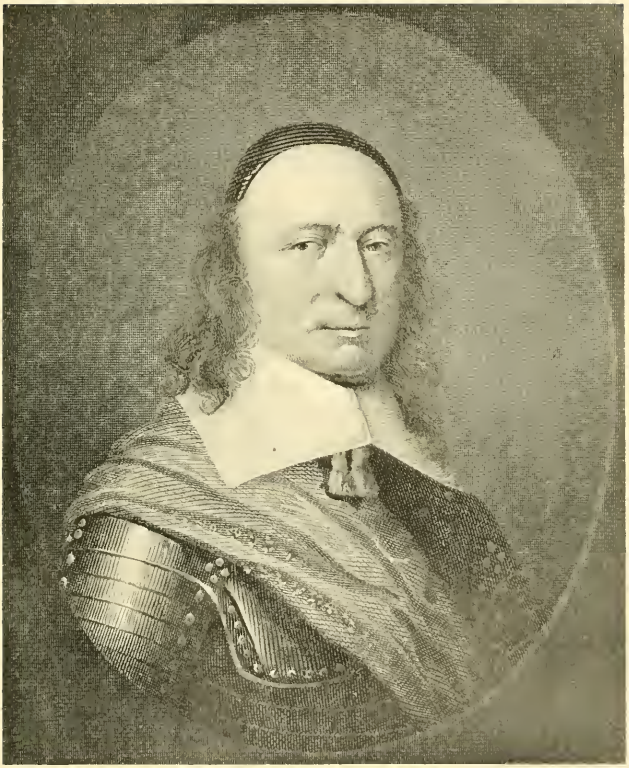
children. The indignant colonists were on the point of sending him a prisoner to Amsterdam, when the Long Island tribes offered a truce in which the River tribes joined, merely to prepare for a great war of extermination. Frightened at last, Kieft allowed the heads of families to elect a Council of Eight, who had barely concluded peace with the Long Islanders before the River Indians drove every venturesome settler back to the fort. Even there they wounded an officer relieving guard. The Director then frantically appealed for help right and left. The English captain, John Underhill of Connecticut, a frequent visitor at Kieft's Tavern, promptly offered to lead a force of Dutchmen to the neighbourhood of what is now Stonington; and by a surprise and sharp fight checked the course of the war. The Eight finished it with the aid of one hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers sent by Director Stuyvesant from the Company's province of Curaçoa.

By Kieft's decade of wanton mismanagement the Company's trade had fallen to a dead loss of five hundred and fifty thousand florins. The capital had scarcely one hundred men, besides the soldiers and the traders; and "almost one fourth part of the town" was taken up by "houses for the sale of brandy, tobacco, and beer." At length the Eight declared to the Company and the States-General that if Kieft were not removed the colonists would leave him in sole possession. Even then he was allowed to linger, waiting for his successor, during two years; time that he used to bind up the wounds he had made among the natives.

At length, in May, 1647, the capital was gay with flags, bugle-notes, and huzzas over the arrival of Peter Stuyvesant, who was Director for the next seventeen years, until the province was seized by the English. He brought several important new officers and more soldiers. But the joy of the crowd was dampened, as the new Governor "strutted like a peacock" before them with his wooden leg and its silver bands. He kept them "standing with their heads uncovered for more than an hour, while he wore his chapeau as if he were the Czar of Muscovy."

Under the Company's new orders to give the colonists more freedom in trade and in the conduct of their own affairs, a liberal director might have placed New Netherland on a better footing than any other colony in America. But Stuyvesant was a military autocrat and a religious bigot, believing that liberal measures were against the Company's interests. He taxed the people severely to repair the capital and other villages; he closed Kieft's rum-shops, and stopped the traffic in guns and liquor among the Indians. He freed much land from the claims of the patroons, especially destroying Van Rensselaer's title to the valuable country about Fort Orange. He defied the encroachments of the New England Federation, and built Fort Casimir on the South Bay to show the world that the new Director did not strike his flag to the ghost of Gustavus Adolphus.

But his hand was heavy upon the colony. The Dutch were imbued with the spirit of liberty as



PETER STUYVESANT.

much as any people of that age, and after the colonists had given him a reasonable time to establish the freedom promised by the Company, they complained to their High Mightinesses, naming sixty-eight specifications of "excessive and most prejudicial neglect," praying that the Company's power should be taken away and the States-General give the province "godly, honourable, and intelligent rulers," a public school, and at least two worthy masters. This appeal attracted so much attention in the States-General and among the people of Holland that the Company was obliged to reprimand Stuyvesant, to release tobacco from export duty, to allow private slave-trade, to lower the price of emigrant passage to the province, and to grant the capital a free government, modelled on that of Amsterdam.

In April, 1652, ten years after Sir Ferdinando Gorges chartered Gorgeana in Maine, New Amsterdam was made the second, now the only existing, city on the soil of the Thirteen Colonies—a city of some fifteen hundred people and three hundred houses.

Not until the next February, at the feast of Candlemas, did "Headstrong Peter" proclaim this new government. Even then he withheld the seal for a year, and instead of allowing a popular election of the officers and giving them full control, he appointed the Schout-fiscal, the two burgomasters, five schepens, and fourteen Fathers of the Burghery or Board of City Fathers, besides assuming the right to preside at their meetings, which were held in Kieft's Tavern, remodelled for a City Hall. He set

up a bodyguard of his own to attend him whenever he went abroad, but prevented the muster of the city militia or Burgher Guard under the orders of the City Fathers; he even interfered with repairing the city defences when war with the English was threatening and the necessary money had been raised. This, and so much more, was laid at his door that a convention met in spite of him, and by a singularly clear declaration of popular rights, says Mr. Roberts,* secured the States-General's interference against the Amsterdam Chamber, and a rebuke to Stuyvesant that made his course a liberal one as long as the Dutch rule remained.

This new era, which lasted nearly a decade, began and ended during wars between Holland and England. Under Stuyvesant the Dutch colonists had not submitted tamely to the encroachments and insolence of the New Englanders. On Long Island and the mainland there were never-ending quarrels between the two peoples. The English were undoubtedly the aggressors; but both sides showed anger enough, and were ready for fighting when in 1652 they heard that Dutch and English were at war in Europe. The people of Hartford had seized the "House of Good Hope," an English fleet had arrived in Boston, and actual preparations were begun to attack New Amsterdam when peace was declared. But the quarrel was only lulled, and the fort on the Connecticut was not returned.

The Swedes on the South Bay seized their opportunity to take Fort Casimir; and in September,

* *New York.*

379 STUYVESANT'S HOUSE IN THE BOWERY.

1655, while Stuyvesant was absent, an angry band of River Indians surprised New Amsterdam and killed two burghers, one of them Van Dyck, who had shot a squaw for stealing peaches from his garden. Then they fell on Hobocan, Pavonia, and Staaten Island, killing a hundred settlers. As soon as Stuyvesant returned, he restored a lasting peace, except at Esopus, where the settlers persisted in living on isolated farms and courting destruction by the sale of liquor to the natives in exchange for their peltries.

After five years, about 1660, many villages were established, some of them by Waldenses, Huguenots, and Mennonites.

" The intellectual and religious activity and freedom which illuminated the home country at that epoch were transferred to New Netherland," and " this colony beyond any other, except that founded by Roger Williams, was the refuge of the persecuted of every sect."

Even Stuyvesant wrote to the Company that it " would be highly desirable that the yet waste land which might feed a hundred thousand inhabitants should be settled and cultivated by the oppressed on the one side, by the Roman Catholics in France, Savoy, Piedmont, and elsewhere, and on the other by the Turks in Hungary and upon the confines of Germany."

Old lists of immigrants show that the colony already had attracted people from many parts of France, from Prussia, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Norway, and Denmark. The Dutch Reformed and the English Church were on an almost equal

footing, and besides these were the societies of the Lutherans, the Presbyterians, Quakers, Puritans, and even the Roman Catholics, who had at this time no settled pastors in the colony, but who had several missionary stations among the Indians in the North-west. On their occasional visits to New Netherland they "were treated with marked courtesy by the Dutch governors. Jews were not allowed to serve as soldiers, even under a pressing exigency, but no other disability seems to have been imposed upon them."

The pulpit of the New Amsterdam church had become illustrious through Dominie Megapolensis and his colleague Dominie Drisius, who preached in Dutch, French, and English. Besides the common school, the capital had a Latin school in charge of Dominie Ægidius Luyck, whose reputation drew pupils from distant colonies.

The English settlers were thoroughly awake to these advantages. They steadily increased in numbers, but never became amalgamated with the Dutch, or shared the loyalty shown by men of other nations to the government under which many had found fortune, as well as shelter from persecution in old and New England. In Westchester and on Long Island, they not only asked the newly chartered commonwealth of Connecticut to "cast the skirts of its government" over their own towns, but suggested that it should also seize those of the Dutch. They even influenced communities to ignore a call from Stuyvesant for a convention of delegates, who met, however, and appealed to the

Company to restrain the English and confirm the loyalty of the Dutch. But Connecticut also wrote home, soon receiving answer that the English towns on the island should be annexed to Connecticut, until a permanent government was established over them. Then there was another popular convention and more memorials to the States-General; and while the inhabitants of New Amsterdam were calling on the fatherland for money to increase their defences, the States-General sent sixty soldiers to aid them in repelling the English and compel all within the province to obey the government of the West India Company. Meantime Charles II. had said to his brother James:

"Since Cabot's discoveries make the entire northern continent British dominion, it is high time we took that splendid middle region out of the hands of the Dutch. Our commission to enquire into the affairs of our froward and stiff-necked Massachusetts may include Colonel Richard Nicolls, to seize for you, as Lord Absolute under the laws of the realm, the whole country that the States-General have had the impudence this long time to call their New Netherland."

When Nicolls brought his fleet into the harbour, Stuyvesant was for resistance; but his Council were not with him. He had a passionate scene with them, but they said truly that with their mere handful of soldiers and poor little fort resistance would mean only the destruction of the town and the loss of all the favour they were promised on peaceful surrender. So, in September, 1664, the English took New Netherland and made it New York.

CHAPTER XII

A QUARTER-CENTURY UNDER YORK'S TYRANNY

FROM the fifth year of the reign of Charles II. to the seventeenth year of that of George III., the Middle Colony was under English rule except for fourteen months in 1673–1674, when the Dutch regained control. During this period of one hundred and thirteen years thirty governors or acting governors sat in the seat of authority; six for the Duke of York and twenty-four for the Crown; one only, and an admirable one, was a native of the province. A few of the acting governors were esteemed members of the Council temporarily in charge. Most of the swiftly moving procession came to make their fortunes, and left in some sort of disgrace. All of them were under strict orders to tax the people heavily and to coerce them into obedience to the royal pleasure against their own interests. With two exceptions under the Duke and three under the Crown, they faithfully did their best, or their worst, to goad the people into rebellion.

The greatest of these exceptions was the conqueror, Lieutenant-Governor Richard Nicolls, who

took possession in the pleasant month of September, 1664, with four hundred and fifty soldiers of the line, the first permanent establishment of British troops within the Thirteen Colonies. For four years he bravely met, and usually succeeded in solving, the enormous difficulties of turning into an English proprietary province what half a century of development had made practically a Dutch republic. How far his intelligence was in advance of his time is shown by the record of his ordering the instant release of a man and his wife who had been placed under bonds to stand trial for witchcraft. Thirty years after this, people were hanged on like charges in Massachusetts, and about eighty years later a similar belief caused a fanatical outburst, costing many lives, in this very city. With infinite tact and a generosity that crippled his private fortune, he used his almost kingly powers so that even the Dutch took kindly to the change, and believed the promises which he honestly transmitted from the Duke — who had not the slightest intention of keeping them.

The patents granted to his brother by Charles II. in 1664 extended from the Delaware (Nicolls adding the "territories" on the west shore) to the Connecticut River and the Great Woods, northward to Canada; they also included Long Island, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a "county," called Cornwall, in Maine, between the Kennebec and the St. Croix. These claims struck fire in every colony north of Carolina except Rhode Island; and a lively book might be written of the quarrels of patentees

and settlers before the present boundaries were secured. That James's two dukedoms might be represented in the New World, the chief portion of his prize was named New York; the western peninsula Albania; but that was sold and renamed New Jersey. The capital became the city of New York, the Dutch burgher government being displaced by an English mayor and board of aldermen. The citadel was Fort James, afterwards frequently renamed for the reigning sovereigns. The next largest town was Albany, and the names of many others were changed or Anglicised.

This colony then numbered some seven thousand "Dutch," that is, besides the real Dutch, Prussians, Bohemians, French, Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, and five thousand "English," including Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. There were many negro slaves, and more soon supplied a lively trade; for the Royal African Company's negro-snatchers were one of the chief sources of the new Lord Proprietor's income. But no traffic was allowed in Christians, except criminals under sentence. Patrooneries were confirmed as manors. Small English garrisons amicably strengthened the overtaxed Dutch guard at Schenectady, on the Mohawk River, which was the most distant settlement in the western woods, at Esopus, and at other places where the natives were troublesome. It was said that "the several nations were never brought into such peaceable posture and fair correspondence as by his [Nicolls's] means they now are." But it was beyond his power to hold their trade against the French *courcurs de bois*, who

invaded the northern frontier as soon as the province became English, and at length made Albany a station for the purchase of "Indian goods," which London merchants supplied to the advantage of all concerned but the New Yorkers. Nicolls called a popular election of representatives to meet with them and his Council in February, 1665, at Heemstede, Long Island, afterwards called Hempstead by the English. He presented them with the Duke's elaborate code, which was so largely a copy of the laws of the newly chartered Commonwealth of Connecticut, and so baited by assurances of liberality as to cover the hook by which the proprietor reserved to himself the power to lay taxes, appoint all important officers, and control the courts. Toleration of all sects was the only promise that was kept. The Church of England was established, and the province was laid off into parishes, each ordered to build a church.

The life and business of the people, rich and poor, were soon almost paralysed by the demands of the new laws and taxes, and by the loss of their trade through the war between England and Holland brought on by the seizure of this province. The unhappy merchants could only try to retrieve their losses, as Nicolls did his own, by privateering, until the Treaty of Breda in 1667. But the next year Nicolls, out of pocket, and disheartened at finding himself deceiving a worthy people, left the country at his own request.

Sir Francis Lovelace, who followed him, governed for six years with a zeal for his master's

methods, somewhat cloaked by his pleasant manners and by many popular improvements. Among these were the establishment of races at Hempstead to better the breed of horses, of the weekly meetings for merchants where the Broad Street Exchange now is, and of the first mail route to Boston by means of a post-rider, who came and went once a month.

The Dutch West India Company had not meekly yielded their claims. They had sent out an expedition which landed on Staaten Island, and made some secret plan for revolt in concert with several Dutchmen of Long Island towns. The plot had been discovered and nipped in the bud by arrests for sedition, with speedy sentences to heavy fines and public disgrace in the stocks, while threats of still severer measures were scattered broadcast.

Within five years, however, the Peace of Breda was broken, and on an August morning of 1673, when Lovelace happened to be on some errand to a neighbouring province, the Dutchmen of New York were filled with happy amazement by seeing the harbour alive with a portion of the Dutch squadron, which had all but swept British commerce from the seas. Admiral Evertsen and the son of Admiral Binckes, lying within musket-shot of the fort, sent word, "We have come for our own, and our own we will have!" They gave the commander half an hour in which to raise the Dutch flag, and then landed six hundred men under Captain Anthony Colve, who was joined by the old Burgher Guard, four hundred strong, and immediately moved upon

the fort, garrisoned by but seventy-six English soldiers. The English flag soon came down, and the blue, white, and orange went up over Fort William Henry, and the city of New Orange was declared the capital of the restored New Netherland. Colve was made Governor in the name of the United Provinces, and there was a great changing back to Dutch names and customs, with a generous consideration for the English colonists that should have heaped coals of fire upon the head of the Duke of York.

But this was only an episode lasting fourteen months. Before news of the capture could reach Europe, peace negotiations had gone so far that in making the Treaty of Westminster the States-General were obliged to surrender New Netherland. The Duke took out new patents to all of his vast claims, and in the autumn of 1674 sent over some English colonists and troops, with Major Edmund Andros to rule in his master's own style for about ten years — the same Andros who was afterwards in charge of New England and of Virginia. Colve received him with stately ceremony, and presented him with his own official coach and three beautiful Flemish horses, an equipage scarcely equalled in all the colonies. Without any conciliatory delays Andros restored everything English, and laid taxes right and left, even declaring New York the port of entry for the neighbouring provinces on the west, whose stories tell how the Quakers of West Jersey gave in to him, while the indignant Carterets of East Jersey stood out and caused his removal. The New Yorkers seized that occasion to resist the Duke's

customs and to present their protest at Court against the "inexpressible burdens of an arbitrary and absolute power." They prayed for "an Assembly to be duly elected by the freeholders, as is usual within the realm of England and other of his Majesty's plantations." The Duke was disgusted enough to consider some handsome offers tempting him to sell out, until he bethought him of the expedient of a sort of promissory Charter of Liberties and Privileges. In that, says Mr. Roberts, "'the people' were recognised for the first time in any constitution in America, and their representation clearly asserted as a condition of taxation."

This farce, which was played for about two years, was put on in midsummer of 1683 by that able, enlightened, and perfectly sincere gentleman, Governor Thomas Dongan. With his Council, which included ten "men of highest esteem among people," he met some delegates, mostly of the "Dutch" party, who constituted the second representative Assembly of New York — the first that met in the city. It is hard to resist the temptation to describe the admirable laws shaped by these delegates, but, except the laying off of the province into twelve counties, not one act was allowed. After waiting a long time for their confirmation, Dongan was ordered to dissolve the Assembly, for Charles II. was dead, and the Proprietor had become King James II. in February, 1683. For two years Dongan met "controversy with courage and foresight, bearing himself well in complex and trying negotiations," in which the one ray of light was when his Majesty

paused in his general upsetting of charters, to make out a new one for New York City, as liberal as it was unexpected. On that great instrument of 1686, known as Dongan's Charter, the municipality was based uninterruptedly until the formation of Greater New York.

But on the heels of that boon came the crushing blow, declaring New York part of the Dominion of New England. Sir Edmund Andros, as Governor-General, visited the city in August, 1687, triumphant over the people who a few years before had defeated him. He broke their provincial seal, replacing it with that of the hated Dominion, and installed over them as his Lieutenant-Governor Francis Nicholson, Captain of Fort James; the same who was afterwards Governor of Virginia and of Maryland, and an able officer in the French and Indian Wars. The King had appointed to Andros's Council some of the same "men of highest esteem among the people" who had served with Dongan under the promissory charter—Frederick Phillipse, Stephen Van Cortlandt, and Nicholas Bayard. When they accepted place,—under oath, of course, to suppress all those promised liberties,—the whole population was rent in two factions; the Councillors and those who upheld them were called "aristocrats," "Episcopalians," "English"; the opposition, although numbering men of family and fortune, had so large a following among the people that they were called "democrats," as well as "Dutch." The leaders of both factions tried to keep the city quiet, but one April day of the next spring the

streets were thrown into an "uproar through people coming from Boston" with the surprising news that its inhabitants had set up a government for themselves, putting Andros in prison, for James II. had been driven out of England and William and Mary welcomed to the throne.

CHAPTER XIII

EIGHTY YEARS OF FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

ON the news of the fall of James II. and his Dominion of New England, the leaders of both factions in New York counselled the "turbulent commons" to be ready for attacks from James's allies, the French. As the garrison at the fort was small, the City Guard was put on duty, and all went well until Nicholson gave offence to some of the militia, which was resented by the entire Guard. The senior company determined to take command at the fort until news should come of some settled authority in England. Their captain, Jacob Leisler, a prosperous and respected German, refused to lead an attack, but when Nicholson admitted his men, he followed the next day and took his place at their head. It is said that he received the keys of the fort from the Lieutenant-Governor, who went to England to explain the situation, while Leisler sent his version by letter, stating that he awaited the orders of the Crown.

This was the beginning of the stormy period of nearly two years, known as "Leisler's Rebellion."

The familiar records, made mostly by leaders of the "English" party, have been stamped by late investigations as "overdrawn at best, sometimes grossly false," representing as a self-seeking rebel the man who was a patriotic martyr, and used the brief authority thrust upon him to set up the most enlightened government the province ever had.

The "aristocrat" leaders contended that they were the proper persons to be in control, but the mob was so violent against them that the Captains of the Guard, some of them able young men of good families, were firm in their belief that only the militia could keep the peace. United in looking to Leisler as their chief, they agreed that he should call upon all the counties of the province to send delegates to the fort for the purpose of choosing a Committee of Safety—surely a sensible measure, in tune with the spirit of the people who were grieving for their lost liberties and privileges. Some of the counties gladly responded, while others refused. When the Committee of Safety, after being duly elected, named Leisler as captain of the fort, until orders were received from their Majesties, a hue and cry was raised against the "rebel's" arrogant efforts to make himself dictator of New York. This showed the Committee of Safety the necessity of extending his authority to the military command of the province. They called him by the familiar title of Governor, while his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, was styled Lieutenant-Governor. Part of the Committee, eight men of good standing, acted as a Council to sustain a well-regulated provisional

government against the violence of the late King's adherents on the one hand and the turbulence of the mob on the other. Some of the neighbouring colonies recognised Leisler as the temporary Governor of New York. Phillipse and other "aristocrats" joined him, only increasing the resentment of Van Cortlandt, Bayard, Matthias Nicholls, and others, who called Leisler by every bad name in their polyglot vocabulary. The commons roughly handled Bayard in the streets, and so threatened the others that Leisler confined them in the fort, forced to do so, he said, to save their lives and protect the province.

Meantime, upon the opening of King William's war with France, Louis XIV. sent Count de Frontenac back to Canada as Governor, to use his military genius against the English colonies. The first result was the surprise and bloody massacre by his Indians of the settlers in New York's frontier town, Schenectady on the Mohawk River — opening the conflict which after nearly eighty years ended in the definite conquest of Canada by the English. As soon as possible, Leisler called on the several colonies for a convention of delegates, which met in New York in May, 1690, to discuss the possibility of offering a united resistance to the French.

About the same time, Leisler arranged the first mayoralty election by the people, and also met the second provisional Assembly of delegates, who were sent from all but two counties — the fairest representation the people ever had. Although they voted him almost absolute powers over person and

property, he left it with them to impose and to disburse the taxes, for the first time in their history, for the benefit of the province.

Meanwhile Nicholson had been heard in England, and rewarded with promotion to the government of Virginia, while the Crown and the Plantations Committee took their time about erecting New York into a royal province. At length they appointed Colonel Henry Sloughter Governor, and Major Richard Ingoldsby Lieutenant-Governor—neither of whom reached the distressed capital until nearly three years after Nicholson's departure. In January, 1691, Ingoldsby arrived first with a body of troops, but the royal papers attesting his authority were in Sloughter's vessel, from which his own had been separated by a storm. The "aristocrats" induced him to demand the surrender of the fort, but Leisler was too sensible to let loose the mob at the demand of a man who had no credentials to attest his power over them. There was bitterness enough, as it was. One day, when Ingoldsby's soldiers were drawn up, some said for parade, some for attack, a few sudden shots fired without orders by the City Guard killed two of them. The regulars fired back; there was uproar and panic — in the midst of which Sloughter came into port.

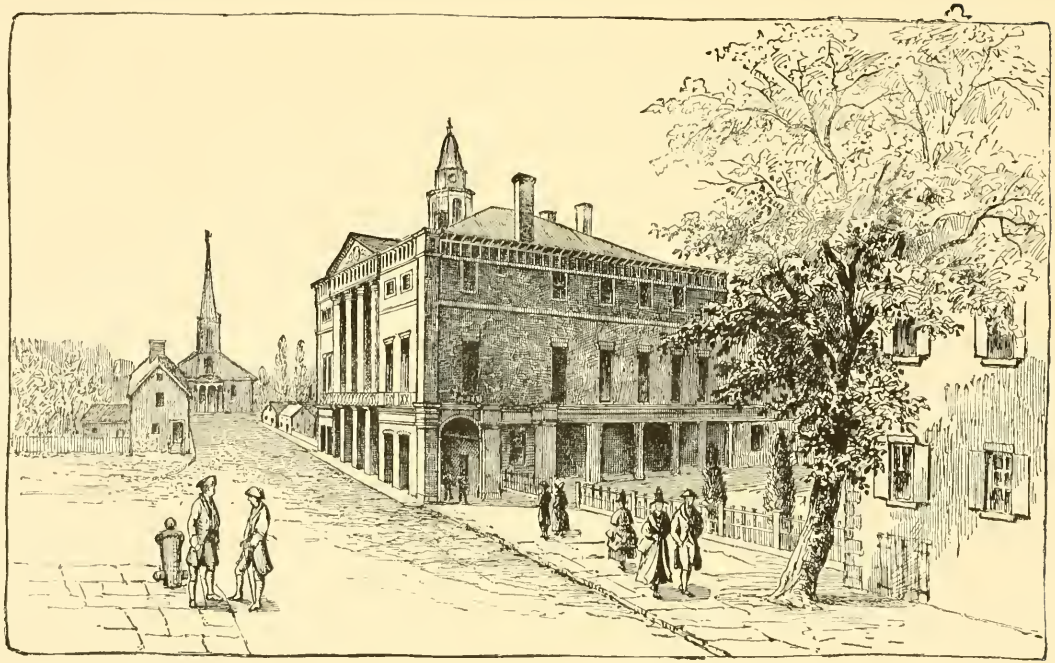
Then the "aristocrats" had their innings. The government of the Royal Province of New York, with only the representatives to the Assembly elected by the people, was barely set up, when by a farcical trial Leisler and Milborne and the eight "rebel councillors" were found guilty of what

amounted to treason and murder. Sentence to death and confiscation of property was passed by the new Chief-Justice, Joseph Dudley, whose own name was branded with the charge of treason by his native province of Massachusetts. The eight Councillors were afterwards pardoned, but Sloughter was hurried into signing the death-warrants of the "chief usurpers," and they were hanged and buried in "The Fields," near where the City Hall now stands. Although King William in his magnificent ignorance declared the sentence a just one, it rankled in the minds of many as wanton murder, not only impelling Leisler's son to move heaven and earth until he obtained tardy justice from Parliament, with honourable burial for the bodies and restoration of the confiscated property, but doing much to crystallise the "Dutch" faction into a permanent power.

Sloughter died, so soon after the hanging that some suspected poison, though no evidence was forthcoming; and Colonel Benjamin Fletcher came in midsummer of 1692, to carry the province through the next six years of war with admirable skill. He was commissioned also as commander of the militias of all the neighbouring provinces, whose resentment gave him more vexation than glory in his task. His own Assembly entrusted him with six thousand pounds for the defence of the frontier, and the Iroquois honoured him with the title of "Great Swift Arrow."

As soon as William III. had declared that his subjects in America might take out letters of marque

against the French merchant service, the New Yorkers, from the governor to the chimney-sweep who could ship before the mast, had gone into privateering. They were not particular to chase only the enemy's vessels, but overhauled every craft they dared attack, whether of the Dutch or even the English East India trade. At first stolen cargoes were boldly brought into port and entered as privateer prizes in the Admiralty Court, where they were sold by due process of law. But as the trade grew, an exchange post was set up at Madagascar—a fortified private village, with storehouses and docks, and some regular merchantmen always in waiting to exchange cargoes with the first captain flying skull and cross-bones who came in, or to buy the plunder for cash and take it home to New York as East India goods legitimately secured. This trade grew enormously in a few years. The city was filled with Oriental luxuries. Money was plentiful in coin of all nations, and the merchant families indulged in unheard-of extravagance. It was soon whispered that no one knew better than Governor Fletcher why this port was so popular among pirates, and that he could well afford to give his income from the King's Farm to Trinity Church. This sudden accession of wealth did the city more harm than good. Fortunes were made, to be sure, and the finest churches in the country were built, but money laid by in honest industry was often lost, for many ventures failed. Still worse was the moral effect. Legitimate trade seemed slow and unprofitable; and young men disdained the hard work and



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FEDERAL HALL.

(The Second City Hall. Built in 1700.)

frugal lives of their fathers. Complaint reached the King's ears, of course; and after a nominal peace was made by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, his Majesty, having no more use for privateering, issued orders against the buccaneering which disgraced and paralysed the bulk of the city's business. Fletcher was recalled under charges of malfeasance in office, from which he never wholly cleared himself.

The arch-enemy of this piracy was Richard, Earl of Bellomont, who came in May, 1698, and wore out his own life in three years as Governor of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. The other provinces he neglected, while flattering the people and drawing large salary grants; but in New York he stirred up a hornet's nest in his crusade against corruption. He displaced old and honoured officers by his own sometimes wise and sometimes faulty choice of new men. He arrested anyone and everyone for smuggling, seized goods on suspicion, not always justified, and, affecting to be democratic, meddled in the restoration of the confiscated Leisler property, reviving the slumbering animosity of the "Leislerites" or "Black People," as they were then called, against the "aristocrats" or "White People." But his violence recoiled upon himself. He so warmly espoused Captain Kidd's proposal to hunt pirates with the King's cruiser, that when Kidd turned pirate himself with the royal outfit, my lord's enemies cried, "Set a thief to catch a thief," and his sudden death in 1701 cut off any opportunity to prove that he was not in Kidd's secret.

Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan buffeted the storms which the earl had raised, especially an outbreak against the Leisler and Milborne heirs, in which Bayard, for one, went to such lengths that he was on trial for treason when, in 1702, word came over sea of the death of William III., and the proclamation of Queen Anne.

During nearly one half of her Majesty's twelve years' reign, her Governor over New York and New Jersey (which had governors in common for the next forty years) was her cousin, grandson of the first Earl of Clarendon, Edward Hyde, called by courtesy Viscount Cornbury. He was placed over these provinces that he might escape arrest for debt in England, and refill a purse emptied by riotous living. This precious rake seasoned all his doings with excessive zeal for the Established Church in general, and the new Trinity Church in particular—to which he presented a funeral pall on condition that no one should ever be denied the use of it; altogether the best thing he ever did in America.

The province was then in a bad way from the collapse of privateering prosperity. When the Queen's renewal of the war with France was known, there was great demand for money and men; not only to take part in the indecisive campaigns of those eleven years of conflict, but to defend New York's vast frontier from Indian horrors. For these expenses this colony, in common with many others, made its first issue of bills of credit, and saw them fall to the rate of three for one in coin. Upon the declaration of this war, Cornbury assumed

great concern for the people's danger and induced the Assembly to vote him moneys to fortify the frontier and the Narrows of New York Harbour, but, as months went by without a paling driven or a gun set in place, the Assembly perceived that they had been taught a new step in self-preservation, at a cost of £2500, and grimly provided themselves with a treasurer bound to render strict account of all future expenditures. Cornbury resented the reflection on his conduct and the curtailing of his operations, but the Assembly was firm, and the Queen sustained it. The people of both provinces soon wished that her Majesty would send her profligate cousin to Guinea, or anywhere, so that he was not quartered on them, and all delicacy about saying so was soon swept away by the discovery that he had secretly sold himself to the schemes of Joseph Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts, to destroy all the colonial charters and reconstruct the single government on an even more extensive scale than in the hated Dominion of New England. Almost everything had been done to annex Rhode Island to Massachusetts and Connecticut to New York before the cat was let out of the bag. The Queen turned her miserable kinsman out of office without protection against the storm of righteous indignation he had raised. His creditors, almost as numerous in New York as in London, kept him in the debtors' prison till his father's death made him Earl of Clarendon and released him by the privilege of his rank. The New Yorkers' only satisfaction was to see him leave the country.

When the next governor came, the Assembly declared its absolute independence in money matters, voting him the generous salary of £1600 but for one year, and making the inference clear that the next grant would be affected by the conduct of the recipient. This Governor, John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurly, lived scarcely six months, leaving his duties to Richard Ingoldsby, who was able to live down some of the people's remembrance of him in Leisler's day, and as Cornbury's Lieutenant-Governor, so that he even shared some of the popularity of his new superior.

Robert Hunter arrived in 1710 to conduct the affairs of the unevenly yoked provinces with ability, and with affable manners that coated many a bitter pill for nine years—the longest term of any British governor, except George Clinton's, several years later. This Scot, the friend of men of letters, yet a good soldier, who had been made Major-General under Marlborough, took the trouble, as few did, to study the people. He wrote home: "The colonies are infants at their mother's breast, but such as will wean themselves when they become of age." He might well say so, for his own Assembly denied the authority of Parliament to tax the colony and of the Council to amend money bills, asserting its own "inherent right to act; not from grant of the Crown, but from the free choice of the people who ought not, nor justly can be, divested of their property without their consent." In the remaining four years of the war he won the people's confidence by making as little trouble as possible over the money grants

toward the campaigns, by his own bravery and good counsel in defending the frontier, and, most of all, by his well-placed trust in men born and bred in the province. At about the time when the Iroquois, taking in the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, became the Six Nations, he gave full charge of Indian affairs to Peter Schuyler, whom the Mohawks affectionately called "Brother Quider." They held his word as law for themselves and their federation. Schuyler, the son of Dutch settlers at Albany, was then perhaps the most prominent man of the province, long tried as Mayor of his town, an officer of the militia, and leader in many affairs, especially concerning the Indians. With him Hunter associated another Albany man of much experience in public matters and as Indian agent—Robert Livingston, the son of a Scotch settler. On the bench, as Chief-Justice, the Governor placed Lewis Morris, a scholarly lawyer of Welsh parentage, the owner of large estates in this province and in New Jersey, of which, years afterward, he was appointed Governor.

One thing which the New Yorkers never forgave Hunter was his making a Court of Chancery out of his Council, with himself as Chancellor, as a means to carry out measures — and pocket fees — which the Assembly "stubbornly opposed." Pleased with his earlier acts, they had made him a salary grant for seven years, but when that term expired, they refused to vote anything for more than a year. He called for a new election, by which he managed to secure "a well-disposed majority" and a long-

term salary grant in exchange for certain appointments desired by the people. This House was long known to its discredit as "Hunter's jobbing Assembly." It "passed extravagant, wasteful, and corrupt measures, to which he gave his approval"; but he is one of the few holders of his office who was not accused of doing these things for his own private ends.

He did much to benefit the industries of the provinces. Some time after the New York Assembly voted — not without some bitterness left by the French wars—"that measures should be taken to encourage the few inhabitants left to stay and others to come," Hunter fathered an undertaking to settle in the city of New York and in five new villages on the Hudson some three thousand of the first compact body of the persecuted Protestant German Palatines, who had been attracted to England by Queen Anne's "Golden Books." His plan was to colonise the refugees as bound-servants to make naval stores; but as soon as the Germans discovered it they left their work in a body, and as Hunter could obtain no further money or credit, — twenty thousand pounds of public and private capital having been expended on the undertaking,— he told them that they were free. They scattered at once to the fertile lands offered them on easy terms by the Indians—to Schoharie, up the Mohawk Valley, and other places. Many of them crossed the border and were the first Palatines added to the Pennsylvania Dutch. Clinging to the Lutheran and Reformed ministers they had brought with them, and

cherishing their ancient customs, their virtue, industry, and simple living, the New York Palatines repaid the Crown which had rescued them from their unhappy situation at home by forming a staunch and loyal line of outposts on the French frontier. Through Hunter's efforts, the province built for them at Schoharie Creek and at Onondaga a great, rough block-house, a hundred and fifty feet square, which were both forts and trading stations. When Queen Anne died, in 1714, and George I. became King, Hunter was retained until he chose to retire in 1719, leaving his good friend, the Indians' "Brother Quider," as acting Governor in virtue of his place at the head of the Council.

Quite a different man was soon appointed, and came out to stay for seven years. William Burnet is always mentioned as the son of his father, the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, though he was an author, an astronomer, and something of a man on his own account, little as he was so considered afterwards in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He tried to step into Hunter's shoes, but had too keen an interest in mending his fortunes, broken with the South Sea Bubble, to resist the temptation of driving the sister provinces in double harness with his German master's whip. A man who knew better, Burnet began the half-century of brutality under the three Georges, which stung the colonists into fulfilling Hunter's prophecy. But one of the first blunders gave a new impulse to Indian trade, and brought several present benefits in its train, besides opening the way which ultimately led to union.

This was an order of George I. to stop the London merchants' trade with the Canadian *coureurs de bois* at Albany—the King's purpose being to cripple the enemy whom he was prevented by the Treaty of Utrecht from fighting. This entirely foreign trade, which had been begun as soon as the province was taken by England, brought more evil than good to New Yorkers. As soon as it was stopped, the Indians about Albany showed that an estranging influence had been removed. They became more friendly and helpful, and their trade with the New Yorkers increased eightfold. The Assembly set up a new trading post at Oswego in 1722. Of still greater importance was a congress of governors and commissioners called from all the colonies to meet at Albany to renew alliance with the Confederacy of the Six Nations. It was over thirty years since the similar meeting, called by Leisler, and the congress was a mile-stone in the process of breaking down the jealousy among the several English colonies, of showing them their common danger and the possibilities of their strength, if united; some also saw that trouble with the French might be avoided by building a line of fortified trading posts along the frontier.

But all that King George would heed at the time were the outcries of the London merchants over the loss of their Albany trade. Burnet was occupied in making illegal use of the Chancellor's powers, which aroused resentment among the people to such an extent that he tried to start a counter-influence in 1725, by means of the first newspaper in the

province, the *New York Weekly Gazette*. But at length, when he attempted to debar Stephen de Lancey, a popular young lawyer, from his seat in the Assembly, and, when the House resisted, to punish the Speaker in Chancery, the whole body rose against him, although it was still "Hunter's jobbing Assembly." After meeting without a new election for eleven years, these delegates were dismissed, as the boldest for the provincials' rights that had ever sat in New York. The new election returned yet bolder spirits, "all ill-affected to me," Burnet wrote home.

With all there is to the discredit of the Bishop's son in this office, a tradition stands out to the good, that in the midst of his quarrels with the Assembly he fortified Oswego out of his own pocket, when neither they nor the King would furnish defence against the French, who had launched two large vessels on Lake Ontario and rebuilt their fortifications at Niagara. The Six Nations sent the Governor their solemn approval of his action, with the deed of a sixty-mile strip of their country from Oswego to what is now Cleveland, "to be protected by the British government." They said, "We came to you howling because the Governor of Canada encroaches on our land."

When George II. succeeded his father in 1727, Burnet was transferred to Massachusetts, and for three years the Scotch soldier, member of Parliament, and groom of the late King's bedchamber, John Montgomerie, turned the New Yorkers' swords of internal strife into pruning-hooks, much more to

cultivate the province than the royal will therein; a line of action which makes him the most conspicuous exception among the seventeen royal governors. The Assembly, of its own free will, voted him a five-year salary grant, keeping control of all other officers' salaries. This power, which carried so many others with it, Montgomerie seems to have yielded them without reserve, and also the still greater one which they assumed in suspending the Court of Chancery, and declaring that "for any act, matter, or thing done in General Assembly, the members thereof are accountable and answerable to the House only, and to no other person whatsoever," The Crown's Provincial Attorney-General Bradley, wrote to the Board of Trade, almost half a century before the colonists thought of independence, "most of the previous and open steps which a dependent province can take to render themselves independent at their pleasure, are taken by the Assembly of New York."

To make matters the worse, after Rip Van Dam, as senior Councillor, had been acting Governor for over a year, there arrived as Governor, Colonel William Cosby, who was "so offensive in his self-seeking, and so gross in his tyranny, that in four years he served the province better than a more prudent governor could have done." He demanded, by the King's orders, that Van Dam should divide the fees he had received while in the Governor's chair, but refused himself to share the salary, a much larger sum, which had been paid to him. Soon every prominent man in the province took

sides. Law as well as equity was involved. The quarrel went into the Supreme Court, where the high-minded Lewis Morris was still Chief-Justice. The case was won for Van Dam by William Smith and James Alexander, rising young men, regarded as the ablest lawyers in the province. When the decision was announced Cosby angrily replaced Morris by James de Lancey, Stephen's son, who reversed the decision. All public offices were turned upside down in the same manner, but the Assembly could not be touched. There Smith, Alexander, and many like them, openly declared the new appointments a disgrace, asserting that the people through their delegates should control the courts, and that the delegates should be elected by the people triennially, neither they nor the judges to be subject to the pléasure of the Governor or the Crown. A people's party took shape, and started the *New York Weekly Journal*, edited by John Peter Zenger, to define the rights of the province and answer articles in the *Gazette* laudatory of Cosby with a freedom that, to the minds of the Governor's party, bordered on treason. At length, for several "scandalous reflections," Zenger was clapped into jail. The *Journal*, however, still appeared regularly under his editorship, and was read all over the city. Cosby ordered the "libellous copies" burned by the hangman in the presence of the Mayor and Council, but all he could make of his bonfire was a small affair tended by a negro slave. So far from bringing Zenger to trial, the Grand Jury refused to find a bill against him, and the case was opened

only through Attorney-General Bradley. Smith and Alexander appeared for the prisoner, but were thrust out of court, and a nonentity was named in their stead. It is said that at this time Smith and others secretly formed the first Society of the Sons of Liberty. When the case came to trial, there appeared for Zenger, in place of the nonentity, no less a man than Andrew Hamilton, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, who had been Governor of that province and of both East and West Jersey — a man honoured through all the Middle Colonies for his upright character, his knowledge of the law, and his silver tongue. He made a brilliant defence, and the jury's verdict was that Zenger had the right to criticise the administration, and that his criticisms were just. Cheers filled the court-room, only redoubled in the face of rebukes and threats from De Lancey, "the bribed Chief-Justice."

A banquet was given by the citizens to Hamilton, and a gold box containing the freedom of the city, for "the remarkable service done by him to the city and the colony by his learning and generous defence of mankind and the liberty of the press."

Thus, in August of 1735, says Mr. Roberts:

"In advance of action in any other province, in a clearer, stronger tone than anywhere else in the world, the liberty to print the truth was asserted in New York. The . . . verdict cast to the winds all the tyranny of requiring license for printing, and maintained the liberty of the press up to the highest standard which even this century has proclaimed."

Morris went to England, mainly for the purpose of working for Cosby's removal. But the Lords of Trade were indifferent to the facts made public by the trial, and to the Governor's land operations; they were careless of his having overthrown the patents of old settlers in order to gather fees by the readjustments, and even of his having courted Indian troubles by the atrocious burning of a deed placed in his custody by the Mohawks, with a view to profit by granting the lands it covered to private persons. Nothing was too iniquitous or too paltry for him, if it offered the slightest addition to his income, which from fees and salary alone was not less than two thousand eight hundred pounds—when the purchasing power of money was at least five times what it is to-day—at the lowest estimate. Few modern politicians would disdain an annual income of seventy thousand dollars with unlimited perquisites.

So the worst of the thirty governors went on, until death removed him in March, 1736. Even then he left the province to one of his chosen Councillors, George Clark, who held the post of acting Governor in the face of Van Dam's right to it, and at length secured the appointment as deputy under Lord De la Warre, for whom, in 1737, George II. created the Governor-Generalship of New York and New Jersey as a sinecure, which existed for half a dozen years. In that time Clark laid up a fortune, enormous for the time and place, of one hundred thousand pounds, while the people suffered. But their sufferings found a voice, and their champions scored some points in the lists.

It was at this time that some five hundred Scotch Highlanders arrived, brought by Captain Laughlin Campbell, and tempted by Clark's promise of thirty thousand acres in the neighbourhood of Lake George. On landing, however, they found they were expected to make their settlement as vassals to Campbell, and refused to stay until the Assembly assured them that no one should be bound against his will. Many then took up land and soon began

"to draw after them a multitude whose coming in successive years added strength and industry and thrift and intelligence beyond the ratio of their numbers to the communities in which they set their homes."

Then, too, a few fires of unknown origin seem to have brought upon the city a cloud out of the Dark Ages. Upon a rumour that they were started by negro slaves conspiring with Spaniards and other Catholics to destroy the province, arrests were made on the "evidence" of ignorant and even disreputable tale-bearers. The trials held were as great a travesty of justice as the scenes in Salem, Massachusetts, which had been repented of for half a century. Over thirty persons were hanged,— neither conspirators nor incendiaries,— and the laws were made more cruel than ever toward the blacks. Slavery was not popular here, and this was, in fact, the beginning of the end of it. The panic was quelled by the better citizens, aided by an epidemic of fever, which, like a swift judgment, carried off

seven times as many people as the miserable hangings.

At length, in 1743, the Governor-General's sinecure and the yoke that for forty years had coupled New York and New Jersey were swept away. Clark went with them, and for the next ten years this province alone was under the "unlettered British Admiral," George Clinton, second son of the Earl of Lincoln. Sent to fill an empty purse, he gathered almost as great a fortune as Clark's, without troubling himself about the people's interests. Within about a year, when King George's four years' war loosed the fury of the French Indians once more upon the frontier, Clinton took high-handed command, exalting Englishmen of family and despising even the strongest supporters of the government and the ablest Indian fighters, if they were "mere provincials." Over many heads he placed in the Council and other high office young William Johnson, nephew of Sir Peter Warren, of naval fame, and for some ten years back steward of his vast estate in the valley of the Mohawks. Johnson, in his intimacy with this most powerful nation of the Iroquois, had been adopted by them as an honorary chief, and Clinton appointed him agent of the whole confederacy, ousting the Schuyler family, who had filled that post with ability and devotion for fifty years. The people, disheartened by contemptuous treatment and impoverished by official thefts, were reported by Clinton as "apathetic, inclined to be neutral," in his Majesty's war. It was the Governor himself who sent out a double garrison to Oswego

after the traders deserted it, who renewed treaties with the Six Nations, who sent to Massachusetts large quantities of provisions raised by private subscription, and several great guns from the King's magazine for the expedition which, led by William Pepperell, of Maine, captured Louisbourg. Although they voted eight thousand pounds towards the undertaking, the Assembly grudged any further expenditure in preparations for war. It was not until they had lost their little town of Saratoga, in November, 1745, by a swift and awful descent of savagery from Crown Point, that they were aroused to force their population of little over sixty thousand to raise ninety-eight thousand pounds to provide for the Iroquois under Johnson, to keep sixteen hundred men afield in the absurd campaigns laid out in England, and to build six block-houses between Saratoga and Fort William, afterwards better known as Fort Stanwix.

All this may have been good discipline for them, but nothing else was gained during the whole four years, and Louisbourg was returned to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in October, 1748. Throughout this period, the watchword of the New Yorkers was never to exalt executive authority and never to yield to dictation from England — which meant conflicts, almost as ruinous as the war, with the King's will, exercised through their aristocratic Governor. No wonder Clinton begged for permission to go home.

He had strengthened the people's party by driving the once zealous loyalist, Chief-Justice de

KING'S COLLEGE, 1773.

Lancey, from the Council, and giving his place to Cadwallader Colden, a Scotch physician and surveyor-general. By this he lost the adherence not only of the brilliant Chief-Justice and of the indignant Councillors, but of all De Lancey's friends, many of them as distinguished for long attachment to the royal government as for ability in provincial affairs. Clinton wrote across the sea of "the insolent, malicious, and flagitious faction which aims to govern the province independent of the Crown." But the home government, wise for once towards New York, hastened to keep De Lancey from slipping further away by sending him a commission as Lieutenant-Governor. Clinton's loyalty was not above holding back this commission until he had exhausted his resources in the effort to have it recalled. All the while his own berth grew more uncomfortable. Upon his refusal to sign a pile of money bills in hopes to gain a point, there followed a deadlock with the Assembly for two years, both sides of the government being without funds until Clinton yielded.

In these distracting times, a lottery was opened by permission of the Assembly to raise two hundred and fifty pounds toward what was afterwards incorporated as the King's College, now Columbia University; and a few years later Trinity Church gave part of its estate to the enterprise.

At length Sir Danvers Osborne came to take Clinton's place, but killed himself in dejection a few days after his arrival, and Clinton was obliged to install De Lancey before he could betake himself

and his fortune to a luxurious home and honourable office in England. Then, for two years, while the greatest of all French war-clouds gathered and burst in the final storm, the New Yorkers' one native Governor managed to induce them to turn from their domestic quarrels and consider the foreign peril which manifested itself in a line of French forts at their doors, from the Great Lakes almost to the Ohio River. Thanks to him, they appreciated the situation as scarcely any other colony did. They took the keenest interest in the convention of representatives from all the provinces which sat at Albany in the early summer of 1754, at the request of Lord Holderness, who wished to "break up the practice of the colonies making separate treaties, and . . . hoped that all difficulties would be settled in a general agreement of all the colonies and all the Indians." Treaties were made between the English and the natives from the St. Croix to Albemarle Sound, and more matters were discussed than Holderness had thought of, especially after Indian runners brought word that the French had secured possession of the Fort of the Ohio, and had defeated a party of Virginians under Colonel George Washington.

When the Assembly received the King's orders to help the regulars in the war, under the severe demands of the Mutiny Act, they so promptly provided barracks in the city and principal towns that they were warmly praised by the Lords of Trade; but after that heavy burden had been laid on the people, the House refused to comply with any

other article of the act, though the refusal meant one of the longest and bitterest contests ever waged by any of the colonies against the King. Meantime no province had such large expenses for defence and none suffered so much in the field. The rich capital, with its double harbour, was the most coveted prize on the continent, and the coast of Long Island, dotted with prosperous manors and towns, was tempting to the enemy's buccaneers; while from the western frontier the whole body of the outermost pioneers were fleeing eastward for their lives. On Lake Champlain the French fortress of Crown Point already menaced the whole region, which, connected as it was with the Hudson, contained the largest group of strategic points in the Thirteen Colonies; its thousands of acres of mountainous, stream-cut forests were infested by the French Indians, fighting the Iroquois and butchering their English friends in satisfaction of the ancient hatred as much as for the shameless white men who employed them. Within, the province was almost as seriously burdened by the British rank and file, insolently swarming over the towns where they received free quarters, everywhere taking precedence of the provincials, and living upon the country without any consideration as they moved back and forth in their ill-managed marches; for from first to last western New York was the seat of this seven years' war.

In the summer of 1755, after Braddock's defeat and death, while Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, who succeeded him temporarily, spent his

time in quarrelsome inactivity at Albany, General William Johnson moved his command of British, provincial, and Iroquois forces to the body of water immediately below Lake Champlain, which he loyally named Lake George, and there he built Fort Lyman, afterwards called Fort Edward. Although he was routed by the French commander, Baron Dieskau, coming down from Crown Point with a body of French and Indians, the baron in turn was utterly defeated and killed, and afterwards his baggage and its guard were captured. The three actions of that day (September 5, 1755) were celebrated as the battle of Lake George, "the one gleam of triumph" in the year, for which Johnson was knighted. Lacking means to press his victory, he paused and built Fort William Henry, while the French fortified Ticonderoga.

Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy came over as Governor that fall, to press the King's demands against the rebellious Assembly for a year and a half, with De Lancey still Lieutenant-Governor and the most powerful man in the province. These months were filled with the tread of marching soldiers, with the assembling of provincial governors who planned elaborate campaigns only to drop them again as utterly impossible, and with heavy demands on the province. Seventeen hundred men were asked for, and forty thousand pounds, which sum was issued in paper. General Abercrombie took over Shirley's command, and made vast preparations for the new campaign under the new Commander-in-Chief, Lord Loudon, but he did not arrive until

late in July, and then wasted his time in New York until the great army waiting for him at Albany was out of provisions and decimated by smallpox.

Meanwhile the French Indians were ravaging the counties of Ulster and Orange, and the enemy's new Commander-in-Chief, the Marquis de Montcalm, after taking all the small English frontier posts, captured Oswego on the 14th of August. Here he took over a thousand men, a hundred and thirty-five pieces of artillery, a great quantity of stores, and a fleet of lake vessels, besides inducing the Six Nations to promise neutrality. On receiving news of this terrible defeat, Loudon gave up all the campaigns under consideration, and ordered everyone into winter quarters at Albany and New York, except small garrisons in Lyman and William Henry. He settled himself down in luxurious idleness, broken only by governors' meetings and quarrels with the Assemblies, and this not through the winter merely, but until July. Then, directing General Abercrombie to move the army to the St. Lawrence by way of Lake Champlain, and take everything along the route, he set sail with Rear-Admiral Hardy for Louisbourg, never attacking it, but tempting the keen French commander, Montcalm, to check Abercrombie by a swift movement upon Fort William Henry, which the French took after six days' siege, together with a large fortified camp.

It was after this discouraging loss, which laid the province open to the worst of all its Indian ravages, that William Pitt's call for one more supreme effort was answered with all that the people possibly could

do. It was near Lake George that the freshly gathered forces assembled, under Abercrombie, and met with their first and last heavy disaster, when Montcalm, anticipating their attack on Ticonderoga, threw them into confusion and, on July 8, 1758, saw them flee, leaving nearly two thousand dead and wounded under his breastwork of trees. Colonel Bradstreet's management of his men in that pitiful scramble stood out as a brilliant exception, and he turned the tide of the war by a swift and unexpected movement which within three weeks broke the strategic line leading to the Ohio Valley. He destroyed Fort Frontenac, at the mouth of Lake Ontario, and that victory was soon followed by another which turned Duquesne into Pittsburgh. In the spring of 1759, after Jeffrey Amherst, the new Commander-in-Chief, and General Wolfe had captured Louisbourg, Amherst hastened to the New York frontier and forced the French out of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, while Sir William Johnson took Niagara, but both were unable to move to the aid of General Wolfe, who made his way up the St. Lawrence, and on September 17th closed the serious work of the campaign and his own life in the glory of the capture of Quebec.

De Lancey died soon after this victory, in the midst of the excitement attending the preparations to complete the conquest of Canada. The venerable Scotch physician Cadwallader Colden, as senior member of the Council, became acting Governor. Although a staunch Royalist, he had won the esteem of the people during the half-century that he had

been in the crucible of public office. The province raised its full share for the three armies of ten thousand men, which, in the next summer, moved on Montreal from Oswego under Amherst, down Champlain under Colonel Haviland, and up the St. Lawrence under General Murray, meeting before Montreal on the 30th of August. Eight days later Governor-General de Vaudreuil surrendered Canada and its dependencies to King George II.

Scarcely seven weeks later the King was dead. Pontiac's rebellion, whose horrors chilled the rejoicings over the coronation of George III., ravaged the frontier, but it was soon checked, largely by the influence of Sir William Johnson.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WEANING PROCESSES OF GEORGE III.

WITH all that the New Yorkers had suffered at the hands of British authority during the French and Indian Wars, they were never more loyal than when the conflict closed. They were still children at their mother's breast, as Hunter said of them half a century before. But the policy of George III. weaned them in fifteen years. During that time four governors ruled New York, beginning with Major-General Robert Monckton's year; but during much of that time, the actual administration was entrusted to Cadwallader Colden, who, though seventy-four years old when he was made Lieutenant-Governor, filled that office, and often added to it the duties of his chief, for thirteen years, retiring only a twelvemonth before the Declaration of Independence. It was he who wrote to the Lords of Trade of Governor Wentworth's grants extending New Hampshire westward, saying that the patents of the province granted by Charles II. to the Duke of York were defied by many settlers in the name of several New England

Assemblies; "governments," Colden urged, "all formed on republican principles," which "are zealously inculcated in the minds of their youth"; while New York was "strictly a royal province." The Board of Trade praised the loyalty and shrewdness of this warning, and his Majesty declared all of what afterwards became the State of Vermont under the government of New York, robbing New Hampshire, and afflicting New York with new taxes and a new flock of British surveyors and other officers — often low, greedy men, who extorted unjust fees and outrageously abused peaceable settlers. Although anyone who opposed the new orders was threatened with death as a felon, the settlers, who called themselves the "Green Mountain Boys," laughed at the whole proceeding, held a convention which renounced the authority laid upon them, and, in the troubled times that followed, won the distinction of a separate State, the first added to the Thirteen.

New York was not "strictly a royal province," although much the greatest weight in learning, ability in public office, wealth, and family importance, as well as numbers, were strongly in favour of submission to the King, as the part both of duty and of personal interest. These people had their large country estates, besides beautiful town houses and suburban mansions filled with heirlooms and valuable property gathered in all parts of the world by many generations who had accumulated wealth. They lived the settled and luxurious life of an aristocracy free from the ban against trade existing in

the Old Country, yet enjoying consideration there as well as in the province. They were devoted adherents of "the Establishment," the English Church being more numerous and influential in New York than in any other northern colony. Supported by the rich families, it maintained a great many poor people, at the same time claiming their loyalty to all that it represented. Nearly a century and a half of slavery and the law of primogeniture had fostered aristocratic feeling toward the "ignorant masses," and strong opposition to the increasing tendency of "upstarts" to claim a share in the government. This was the spirit which made the city a Royalist stronghold. On the frontier, the Scotch Highlanders knew nothing but loyalty, and the farming families of Dutch, German, and French descent were too deeply prejudiced against the people of New England to share their sentiments for any purpose whatever. The rich men in all these classes were merchants and landed proprietors, with interests so bound to the home government that to dabble in resistance meant loss and sometimes ruin. Besides, there was the army, part and parcel of the royal government, the very instrument of the prerogative, scattered through all the large towns of the province, hating and hated by the patriots, and often behaving outrageously, as bodies of soldiers will in a country they pretend to despise. A large portion of the younger men in the great families, with many small merchants and others, formed a sort of moderate party, admitting the rights of the colonists as well as the prerogatives of

the King. They counselled patience and compromise for several years, but gradually swelled the ranks of those who saw that there was "no submission but in slavery." Apart from these two large parties, there was a small but brilliant group, especially in the city, and many of them in the Assembly, as ardent in patriotic spirit as any in the Thirteen Colonies. They upheld the rights of the "ignorant masses," for the good of the province at large, and contested every inch of George III.'s policy, whatever form it took. They were led, Colden wrote to England, by three

> "incendiary lawyers, William Smith [who helped to win Zenger's first case], William Livingstone, and John Morin Scott, educated [at Yale College] in Connecticut, who had strongly imbibed the independent principles of that country, who calumniated the administration in every exercise of the prerogative, and get the applause of the mob by propagating the doctrine that all authority is derived from the people."

Upon their effort to induce Colden to go back to the old custom of appointing the Chief-Justice during good behaviour, not a lawyer in the province would take the office "on pleasure"; and when Colden gave it to Benjamin Pratt of Boston — the same Pratt who declared "our free schools are the bane of society, they make the lowest people infinitely conceited" — the Assembly would pay him no salary. But they were checkmated by Sir William Johnson, who, acting on the Board of Trade's recommendation, rushed a bill through the Assembly

to survey the Crown lands and collect the salary out of the royal quit-rents of the province; a good scheme to "insure judgments in favour of the Crown against all intrusions upon the royal domain by the great landed proprietors of New York, and balance their power and influence in the Assembly." It was a defeat mingled with compensation, for everyone was thankful to have a good title established to the "western grants," which had been under a cloud for half a century.

The "incendiary lawyers" nerved themselves for a stiffer fight against his Majesty's designs on the colonists' revenues. In the Assembly they implored their venerable citizen Governor to join in Massachusetts' "endeavour to secure that great badge of English liberty, of being taxed only with our own consent," with the result that the two provinces were coupled in the famous denunciation by the Board of Trade as guilty "of the most indecent disrespect to the legislature of Great Britain." They but protested the more, to the King, to the Lords, to the Commons, petitioning for their rights on every point, but getting nothing for their pains. "The spirit of resistance was nowhere so strong at this moment as in New York," says Mr. Bancroft; and Mr. Roberts believes that no utterances in the country excelled these "in clearness and vigour of thought, or force of language." There were actions to speak louder than words. Many families refused to use articles under the new taxes. In June, 1764, when an attempt was made in the city to impress sailors for the British navy, the press-gang's barge

was burned on the shore, the crew set free, and "the courts could never discover the captors." In October, says Mr. Roberts,

"the Assembly began 'official action in behalf of American Union for American interests' by appointing the first of the famous committees to correspond with the agent in London and with the assemblies on this continent upon the 'acts of parliament . . . with relation to the trade of the northern colonies; and also on . . . the impending dangers . . . of being taxed by laws to be passed in Great Britain.'"

The next spring, when Colonel Barré in Parliament denounced the proposed Stamp Act as an injustice against these "Sons of Liberty," the patriot societies took up the name, and pledged themselves to save the country. Although the Assembly had adjourned when the call of Massachusetts for the Stamp Act Congress was received, a number of representatives informally attended that first meeting in which the colonies were not represented by their royal governors, which was held in New York City in October, 1765; and the Assembly afterwards adopted the mighty petition to the King, and declaration of rights and grievances to the people of England and America. The citizens entered into non-importation and non-consumption agreements, abstained from mutton to secure more wool, and appealed to Boston and Philadelphia against the use of stamps in any case; while in the city the Sons of Liberty scattered hand-bills worded as follows:

"PRO PATRIA

"The first man that either distributes or makes use of stamped paper, let him take care of his house, person, and effects.

"WE DARE."

The collector refused to act of his own will; and later when the collector for Maryland fled hither for safety he was forced to abjure his office. No stamps were used; the mob hanged and burned effigies, and were as destructive as in any of the colonies, although General Gage, Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces, was in town.

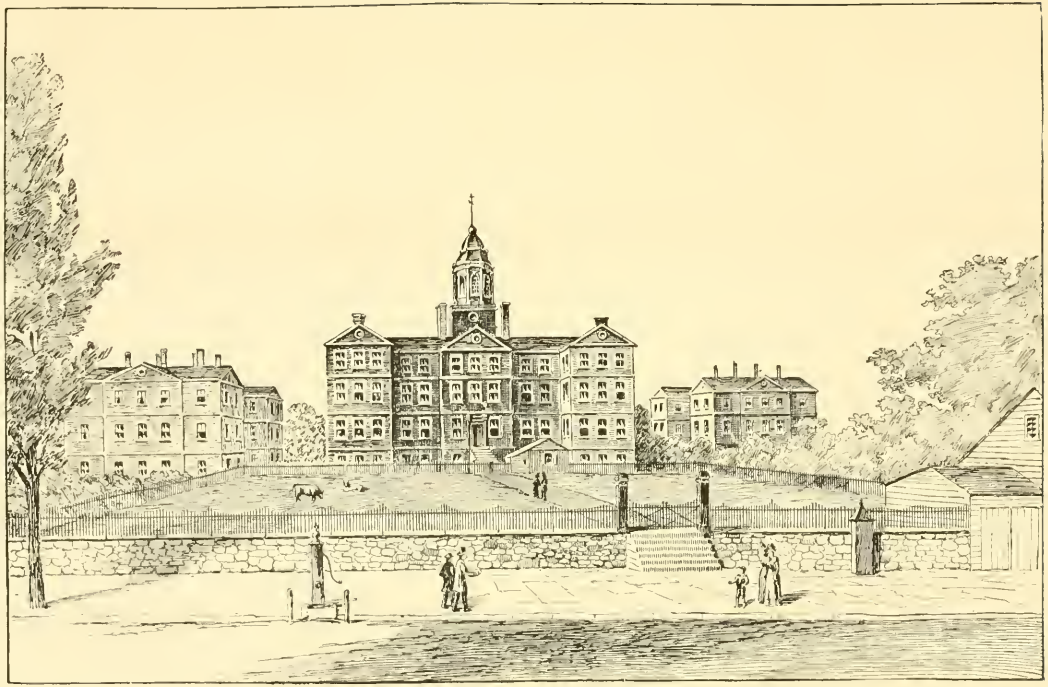
The arrival of Sir Henry Moore, the new Governor, a fortnight later, did not prevent the insurgents from seizing a brig that brought a fresh batch of stamps, and burning the paper on the shore in tar barrels. There was great rejoicing over the repeal, and a jolly public celebration of the King's birthday, when a pole was set up on Bowling Green "To his most gracious Majesty, George III., Mr. Pitt, and Liberty." But the Assembly, while keeping their agreement to house the King's forces, still refused to comply with the rest of the Quartering Act. Twice they were prorogued, and Gage was ordered to fit Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point for war. The city was lively in those days, with its rich "Tory" families ostentatiously for the King, with its "moderates" trying to mind their own business, and with the patriots alert and recruiting strength from every incident. Each clique met at its own tavern. Through all was the gleam of the redcoats, arrogant, disorderly, insolent,

FIRST PRESIDENTIAL MANSION, 1789.

often brutal. Two months after the royal birthday, a batch of them, in one of their everlasting quarrels with the citizens, cut down the "liberty pole." The citizens immediately set it up again, though against drawn bayonets. Firewood, beds, drink, soap, and candles for such soldiers? Never! It was enough and more to give them barracks, keeping them here, enemies of the people as they were, to a man! Such was the growing feeling. The Assembly was more determined than ever. His Majesty declared that until every article was provided, every act of the Assembly should be vetoed, which meant that they could raise no money—that the business and almost the whole life of the province would be paralysed when there was the greatest need for activity. Yet the Assembly still refused for three years; and when the members returned to their homes after each session, some of them were carried through their towns on the shoulders of their constituents. But by wire-pulling and seductions, with Church patronage to help mightily, a new Assembly was elected in 1769, which was made to vote a few supplies for five hundred soldiers in New York and Albany; for which they were bitterly reviled by the patriots and petted by the Tories. But in the autumn, when Colden took the reins again on Moore's death—the same representatives appointed Edmund Burke their agent in England, adopted the resolutions of Patrick Henry in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and voted only by a majority of one another small sum for the army.

Meantime the colony as a whole, which had had the largest trade of all, had lost five sixths of it in keeping the pledges against taxed imports; but when Parliament removed the duty on everything but tea, nearly three fourths of the citizens were willing to accept the compromise. The Sons of Liberty declared with the Massachusetts, Maryland, and Carolina patriots that they fought the principle of parliamentary taxes upon the colonies. Urging the merchants to refuse everything until everything was free, they formed a Society of Mohawks to watch for tea-bearing ships and destroy the cargo rather than allow it to be landed.

Meantime the soldiers kept up petty war on the "liberty pole," at length cutting it into kindling wood; this led to a disordered fight on Golden Hill, January 18, 1770, when a Quaker in his doorway and an American sailor were killed and several others were wounded. This was the first exchange of shots between American colonists and British soldiers since the days of "Leisler's Rebellion," the first provincial blood shed for independence; and it had its effect on all the colonies, though historians have made less of it than of the "Boston Massacre," which arose from a personal quarrel two months later. There were many other frays. More than once when the soldiers refused to obey the Mayor, the Sons of Liberty took upon themselves to act in his name, and never failed to drive the fellows to barracks. These patriots assumed charge of the "liberty pole" also. When the city authorities refused to allow the source of so much disorder



437 NEW YORK HOSPITAL, 1800.

to be replaced on the Bowling Green they bought a piece of ground in "the Fields"; and where the City Hall now stands they set up a pole bound around with iron, and dedicated "to liberty and property." When the soldiers attacked it, crowds of citizens gathered to defend it, the city alarm bells were rung, and such tumult broke out that the officers ordered the men to their quarters; and the pole stood until after the war for independence was begun and the English occupied the city.

John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, came out in the autumn of this stormy year of 1770, to make matters no better; within a twelvemonth he was transferred to Virginia, and his place was taken by William Tryon from North Carolina.

In these days of strain and bitterness the people and the government found time to establish the New York Hospital, to settle the old boundary disputes with Connecticut and Massachusetts, and to erect a new county named Tryon, covering the settlements on the Mohawk, which had crept westward from Schenectady.

The Assembly rose to its old tone long enough to appoint a standing Committee of Correspondence, the famous Vigilance Committee, which set the pattern for similar local bodies all over the province. When the first tea ship was sighted — the *Nancy*, which came in on April 18, 1774—they boarded her in the Lower Bay, and held her until the captain promised to take his cargo back to England. Then they took him ashore for special entertainment, in which he shared by chance with a New Yorker,

captain of the *London*. The latter made his dock before the "Mohawks" discovered that he had on board a private venture of tea; but as soon as it was known, the crowd about the landing-place took upon themselves to rush to the hold and empty the chests into the river, making almost as festive a tea-party as that held in Boston four months earlier. While the bells of the city were rung, and colours unfurled on the liberty pole and the shipping in the harbour; while citizens paraded the streets, with a band playing "God Save the King," the *Nancy's* captain was escorted from the Custom-house to a pilot-boat, that he might embark for England and tell the authorities of the East India Company how he had seen "with his own eyes the detestation of the citizens for the measures proposed to enslave this country."

In July a great mass-meeting in "the Fields" denounced the closing of the port of Boston, and many citizens pledged themselves to import nothing from England until their rights were restored. As the Tories obtained control of the Assembly, which they kept from this time on, eleven of the patriotic members withdrew, and, it is said, appealed to the General Court of Massachusetts to call a colonial congress. Delegates to this were chosen by vote of the taxpayers in New York City, Albany, and a few other places — a representation which did them credit, including James Duane, John Jay, and Philip Livingston. Jay and Livingston acted with Richard Henry Lee in preparing the Declaration of Rights; indeed it is believed to have been written

by Jay, who also wrote the address of the Congress to the people of Great Britain—a "model of patriotic argument and appeal."

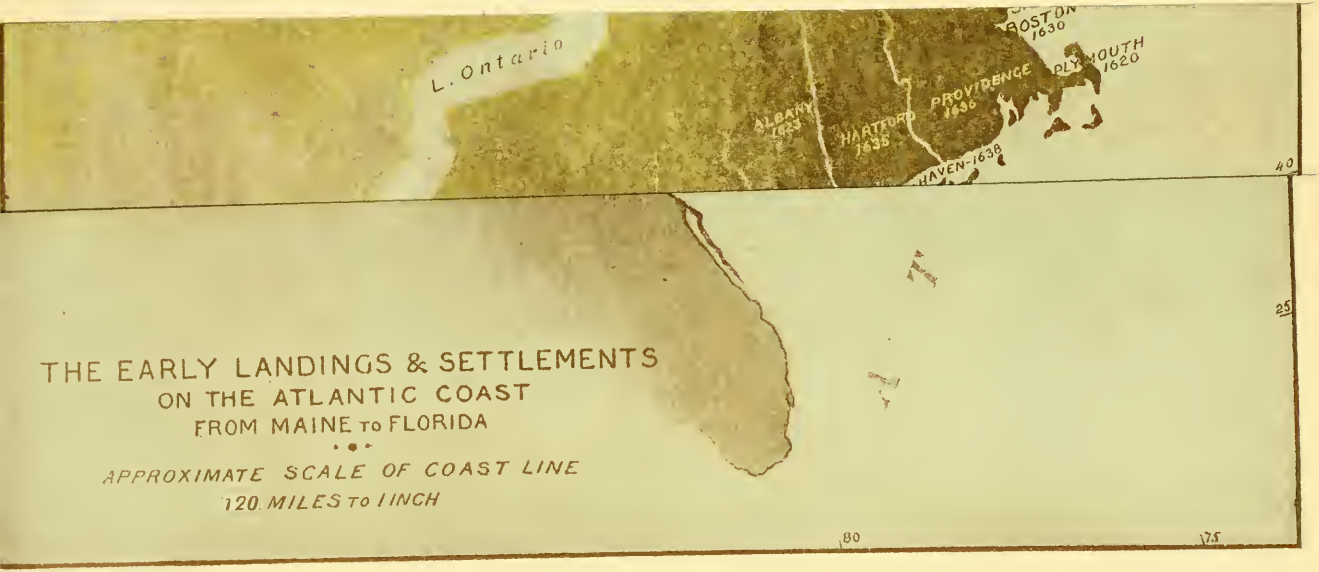
The Tory Assembly refused to consider the proceedings of this Congress, to send representatives to the next, or to publish the correspondence of the New York committee with Connecticut and with Edmund Burke. They were only prevented from declaring New York expressly for the King by a desperate effort of the patriots, which was denounced as hot-headed violence. But their loyalty effected nothing. Parliament would not so much as allow Burke to present their petitions for the relief of the country's grievances; and after its adjournment on April 3, 1775, the Provincial Assembly of New York never met again.

Some two weeks later, on a call from a committee of citizens, a convention of delegates from but nine of the counties appointed representatives to the second Congress in Philadelphia. The Sons of Liberty took prompt action on hearing the news of the battle of Lexington; and the convention named a Committee for the Safety, Protection, and Correspondence of the Province. They also pledged help to Boston, "in this arduous struggle for liberty," drafted an "Association for the Defence of Colonial Rights," and sent copies throughout the province for signatures — an example soon followed by other colonies. The convention assumed charge of the government, electing Nathaniel Woodhull president.

Afterwards, April 19, 1775, was fixed upon as the day when royal rule ceased and popular government

began. Even this was dominated by the moderate party. The delegates in Congress refused to sign the Declaration of Independence without fresh instructions; but when it was made, the convention adopted it, and, acting upon it, called themselves the Representatives of the State of New York, appointing a committee with John Jay as chairman to prepare a constitution, which was adopted on April 20, 1777.

END OF VOL. I.



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